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MR. O'MEARA'S  
EXPOSITION OF THE TRANSACTIONS,  
THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE  
AT ST. HELENA,  
SUBSEQUENT TO  
THE APPOINTMENT OF SIR HUDSON LOWE.



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**CHARLES WOOD, Printer,**  
**Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, London.**

AN  
EXPOSITION

OF SOME OF  
THE TRANSACTIONS, THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE

AT  
ST. HELENA,

SINCE  
THE APPOINTMENT OF SIR HUDSON LOWE  
AS GOVERNOR OF THAT ISLAND;

IN  
*ANSWER TO AN ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET,*  
ENTITLED,

“FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE TREATMENT  
OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,” &c.

CORROBORATED BY  
VARIOUS OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

---

BY BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
LATE SURGEON TO NAPOLEON.

---

**Second Edition.**

---

“Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say)  
putting tricks upon them, than upon the soundness of their own proceedings.”

LORD BACON'S ESSAYS.

“I will be hang'd, if some eternal villain,  
Some busy and insinuating rogue,  
Some cogging cozening slave, *to get some office,*  
Have not devis'd this slander!”

OTHELLO, ACT IV, SCENE II.

---

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

PHILOSOPHY 101

LECTURE NOTES

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THE PHENOMENON OF CONSCIOUSNESS

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3. THE SOFT PROBLEM

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# P R E F A C E

TO

## T H E   S E C O N D   E D I T I O N .

---

SINCE the publication of the First Edition, I have been enabled to procure some additional intelligence of the state of Napoleon's health to a very late period. Mr. Laroche, an Englishman, and formerly cook to Lord Amherst and to Sir Hudson Lowe, who was also employed as such to Napoleon, from July, 1818, until the 3d of March, 1819, arrived in London a few days past. Being desirous of obtaining every authentic information, I inquired of him the state of affairs since my departure from Longwood, and was informed, that Napoleon's complaint had deteriorated considerably since Mr. Stokoe had been compelled to abandon the treat-

ment of his patient; that his legs were swelled, his appetite very deficient, and his general appearance so much altered for the worse, that, to use Mr. Laroche's own expression, "*his countenance resembled that of a dying person*;" and the state of debility such, that he was occasionally obliged to support himself with a stick, when crossing his apartment. Having requested some information from him, concerning the quality of the provisions, which had been supplied to the French since my departure, he replied, that the mutton was in general so bad, that a week did not pass in which he had not been obliged to send it back to the purveyor\*, sometimes even for two and three days in succession (after it had been inspected by the orderly officer), rarely, however, receiving any of a better quality in return. That the beef in general was extremely bad; and the poultry so lean and inferior in quality, that the maitre d'hotel, convinced by ex-

\* The present purveyor was appointed by Sir Hudson Lowe.



perience of the inutility of making any representation or remonstrance to the Governor, had endeavoured to establish a little stock yard at Longwood at the expense of the French themselves. Mr. Laroche farther states, that the bad quality of the meat, vegetables, &c., supplied to Longwood, was not occasioned by the impossibility of procuring better in the island, but because the Governor or his agents would not pay the prices, which were demanded by the farmers, for provisions of a quality equal in goodness to such as he had seen supplied for the table at Plantation House, when he was cook to Sir Hudson Lowe.

By information received from him, it appears, that the disgraceful examination of the ladies' apparel is still continued, as well as the other inquisitorial proceedings described in my Reply to the "FACTS." The new house constructing for Napoleon is built *in a pit sunk fifteen feet deep in the earth*, the roof of the house being barely elevated above the side of the excavation. The pretext alleged

for this was, “to shelter its inhabitants from the bleak wind.” He states, that it is situated about one hundred yards from the old building, in a spot totally *destitute of trees, and devoid of water!* Mr. Laroche is now in London; and those who are desirous of ascertaining the *authenticity* of the details contained in the work published by Sir Hudson Lowe’s apologist, may not find it difficult to satisfy their curiosity.

LONDON,  
MAY 24, 1819.



AN  
E X P O S I T I O N

OF SOME OF  
THE TRANSACTIONS, THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE

AT  
ST. HELENA,

&c. &c.


---

WHILE occupied in preparing my Narrative and Official Correspondence for the press, and looking forward with impatient anxiety to that inquiry, which can alone enable the British nation to decide on the transactions at St. Helena, subsequent to Sir Hudson Lowe's appointment and arrival there, a pamphlet has appeared, under the specious title of "*Facts illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte in St. Helena, being the Result of minute Inquiries and personal Research in that Island.*" As this production lays claim to public attention, on the score of STRICT VERACITY, while it is in reality made the vehicle of slander, calumny, and misrepresentation, I have been induced to suspend the publication of my larger work, as much for the purpose of repelling the



attack, which is made on my own character, as to show the nation what degree of confidence ought to be placed in statements, thus anonymously obtruded on its notice, without any other claims to credibility, than those derived from plausible professions, and bold assertions, totally unsupported by proofs. Although there is probably no country in Europe whose credulity is more liable to be imposed on than our own, yet it is consoling to reflect, that none possesses a greater share of public and private virtue, or is endowed with a higher sense of truth and justice. Nothing but a firm reliance on these distinguishing attributes of the British people, could ever have persuaded me to remain so long silent under the accumulated weight of calumny and oppression, so unsparingly heaped upon me since the period of my incurring the displeasure of Sir Hudson Lowe, for reasons, which will be fully stated in the work to which I have alluded.

Perfectly aware of all those methods which have been put in practice to pervert truth, and deceive the public as to the real nature of the St. Helena transactions, I am by no means surprised at the appearance of this pamphlet, or at the pains that have been taken to give so spurious a bantling the features of legitimacy. Whatever legal notice I may feel myself obliged to take hereafter of some passages in the work, its publication has obliged me to embrace the opportunity



it afforded of exposing falsehood, and answering calumnies; which, if privately circulated, might perhaps have induced the less candid portion of the community to condemn me unheard. It was not enough, that, in addition to the grossest personal indignity experienced while endeavouring conscientiously to discharge my duty at St. Helena, I should on my arrival in England be ignominiously deprived of rank, and erased from the list of Naval Surgeons without the *shadow of a trial*; but the press, devoted to the interests of ministers, must also unite to asperse me, recurring to scurrility and detraction in their malignant efforts, till the assassin's last blow is attempted to be struck in this *anonymous* pamphlet, wherein I am indirectly accused of treason to the sovereign, whom I have faithfully served, and to that country, which I shall ever revere, no matter by whom it is governed.

It is essential, even in the present stage of the transaction, to know, that no explanation has been required from me, or opportunity allowed of stating the grounds of my opinion, although more than once requested; so far from it, that the only notice taken of my representation to the Admiralty has been one, which effectually precluded the possibility of my resorting to the ordinary mode of proving the truth of my assertions.

In proceeding to comment on some of the most



prominent allegations put forth in this publication, and freely acknowledging that I have no pretensions to *such* wit and learning as the author of it so profusely displays, much less his predilection for the picturesque and poetical, I will not yield a particle to him, in my just claims to the attention of that public, whose credence he so confidently anticipates; for although I have no prescriptive right to make the reader believe in the following statements, yet my name is not withheld; and I owe it no less to the interests of truth, than my respect for public opinion, to engage, that if the long sought for inquiry is ever granted, I am prepared to substantiate them either at the bar of Parliament, or before any other court of justice in the kingdom. Having premised my assertions by the foregoing declaration, it is left for the unbiassed and impartial of every party to draw their own conclusions, and decide between *anonymous* calumny, and open representation.

As the situation in which I have been so unexpectedly placed may become that of any other individual in the service, though arising from different circumstances, and the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte is a subject upon which our national character is, even by the admissions of this writer, deeply involved, I shall make no apology for coming forward on the present occasion; nor is it necessary to cite any stronger motives, to insure the reader's attentive consideration.



As my promised Narrative will contain a detailed account of the principal occurrences at St. Helena, up to the period of my departure, followed by an extensive official correspondence and other documents, it is unnecessary to extend my observations beyond what may be required to contradict and refute the author of the pamphlet in question, so that, should there be any apparent ambiguity, or some points not sufficiently elucidated in the present Reply, necessarily drawn up with considerable haste, the public may rely on full and satisfactory explanations being afforded by a perusal of the Narrative, to which this is merely a precursor.

Having opened his subject by informing the reader, that a desire to afford his countrymen some information on that "which cannot fail to be considered an highly interesting subject," apologizing for venturing to print, as if the reasons assigned were not a sufficient excuse, the author quaintly observes, "Affairs not 'germane to the matter,' and in themselves wholly unimportant and uninteresting to the generality of readers, having thrown me upon the island of St. Helena, I determined to appropriate the period of my stay in the colony to a close investigation of the treatment of that man, on whom for years the eyes of Europe were fixed, as on a meteor."

Thus, then, a writer, who sits down to give the public information of "an highly interesting na-

ture," and who not only contradicts statements, that have been frequently reiterated during the last three years, but attempts to vilify all those who differ in opinion with him, or have laboured to obtain justice, begins by telling the reader, that those affairs, which led to his being on the island, are "wholly unimportant and uninteresting to the generality of readers." There is something so truly preposterous in this effort to make the source, from whence important information, and the most serious accusations proceed, a matter of total indifference to the public, that I will not so far trifle with the understanding of my reader, as to point out its self-evident fallacy; nor should I have noticed such an absurd proposition, but from its tendency to prove the author's anxiety to obtain credit for assertions, which, he well knew, would excite doubts and suspicion in the most superficial reasoner. Without stopping to inquire who this writer may be, I venture to predict, that, whenever his name is made public, it will be found, that the motive for concealing it originated in any thing but the patriotism and public spirit, which he so modestly arrogates to himself in the introductory pages. Determined to obtain implicit belief, and prodigal in professions, the second formidable appeal to attention is thus expressed: "In the following communication, I claim one only merit—**VERACITY**. It is to the correctness of my statements I boldly pledge myself, and **I DEFY ANY MAN**



BREATHING TO CHARGE ME, IN THE COURSE OF THESE PAGES, WITH EQUIVOCATION, PERVERSION OF FACT, OR MISREPRESENTATION OF CIRCUMSTANCE:" after which striking passage, the paragraph closes with the following modest climax. " I trust I shall deprecate the severity of criticism, by the *humility* of my pretensions\*." How the foregoing pledge has been redeemed, and what right the author has to deprecate criticism, I shall now proceed to show.

\* It is evident, that the author has, throughout his work, had no less a personage than CAPTAIN LEMUEL GULLIVER in view, and, largely as he has borrowed from that celebrated traveller, it is greatly to be regretted, that, instead of a paraphrase on the declaration contained in the beginning of Lemuel's TWELFTH CHAPTER, he had not favoured us with the original, which I beg leave to insert for the information of those, who have not the said work at hand. " I have perused several books of travels in my younger days; but having since gone over most parts of the globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous accounts from my own observation, it hath given me a great disgust against this part of reading, and some indignation, to see the credibility of mankind so impudently abused. Therefore, since my acquaintance were pleased to think my poor endeavours might not be unacceptable to my country, I imposed on myself as a maxim, never to be swerved from, that I would *strictly adhere to truth*; neither, indeed, can I be ever under the least temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my mind the lectures and example of my noble master, and the other *illustrious Houyhnhnms*, of whom I had so long the honour to be an humble hearer." Now as the "FACTS" will no doubt soon go into a *Second Edition*, would not the foregoing passage form an excellent *fourth* motto for the title page?



Having cursorily mentioned the titles of some works, which appear to have stimulated him in assuming the "task of an inquisitor," the first philanthropic pursuit, in which our author engages, is an inquiry into what he calls the "*animal* treatment" of Napoleon, which includes the quality and quantity of provisions furnished to the Longwood establishment. His observation on this subject is particularly worthy of remark. "I can only say, that, from experience, having several days partaken of beef, veal, and mutton, parts of the animals forwarded for Bonaparte's use, I do positively declare, that I never saw such excellent meat any where *out* of Europe, and very seldom tasted better *in* it."

In reply to this I have merely to observe, that, until the month of October 1817, the meat was in general of a very bad quality. At that period Sir Hudson Lowe ordered island bullocks to be slaughtered for Longwood; previous to it, no amelioration whatever had taken place, although frequent representations of the badness of the provisions were made, both by the orderly officer and myself. The meat, which this writer boasts so much of, might have been good at Plantation House, where it appears *he resided*, as Sir Hudson Lowe had cattle *stall* fed at the stock yard of that mansion; but I positively assert, that none of such a quality as the author describes was *ever* sent to Longwood, during my residence there.

Till the period above mentioned, the purveyor had peremptory orders to supply Benguilla beef (which cost three pence per lb.) to Longwood, while the market price of island beef was eighteen pence. So far, indeed, had the rage for economy been carried, after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival, that when the purveyor ventured to exceed, to however trifling an amount, the sum of *five shillings and eight pence halfpenny daily* allowed to provide Napoleon's table with fish, he was sure to receive an *official* letter on the subject, demanding his reasons, prohibiting a repetition of it, and sometimes threatening to make him pay the *overplus himself!*

As to "the *abundance* of beautiful pasture," which the author has been the first and only person to discover in St. Helena, the assertion is too palpably erroneous to deserve notice, except for the purpose of illustrating his inventive powers.

Previous to the insertion of his "*items*," it is stated, "The establishment consists of Bonaparte, Count and Countess Bertrand, and three children (*I believe*), Count and Countess Montholon, and two children, six men servants, and the female attendants on the ladies." The accuracy of the above bungling and evasive statement will be seen by a reference to the following list, including those who really composed the establishment at the period alluded to.



## NAPOLEON'S HOUSEHOLD.

Marchand.

St. Denis.

Pieron.

Novarre.

Gentilini.

Archambaud.

English Cook.

English Gardener.

Four Chinese Servants in the house, to replace the French and English ones, who were sent away: the former, by Sir Hudson Lowe.

Two Chinese in the Kitchen.

Count Bertrand.

Madame Bertrand.

Four Children.

French Servant.

Adèle.

Mary Hall.

Mrs. Davy.

One English Soldier, Servant.

One Chinese.

Count Montholon.

Madame Montholon.

Three Children.

Josephine.

Mrs. M<sup>c</sup> Grath.

Mrs. Hitchcock.

Another Female Servant.

One Male Servant.

One Chinese.

STABLE: Three English Servants.

TOTAL, Forty-one.

So that, instead of about twenty individuals, implied by the author, the real number was FORTY-ONE! We are next told, that the statement of supplies was not selected for any particular reason, but taken *accidentally* from a bundle of papers to which the author had access, through the kindness of a gentleman to whom he mentioned the object of his inquiry. It is hoped, that this *kind gentleman* will be made known on a future day, otherwise *some* of our author's readers will be apt to doubt whether such a personage ever existed, except in his own fertile imagination.

I have, however, every reason to believe, that



this statement is greatly exaggerated, though I have not an account of the articles furnished during that month\*. The general accuracy of these *items* may be inferred from the positive fact of no draught beer having been *ever* supplied by Government. Sir Hudson Lowe sometimes caused a great increase of some articles to be sent to Longwood (without its being demanded by the French) for some weeks; after which, it was as suddenly decreased. The quantity of champaign was fixed by General Montholon, because Sir Hudson Lowe restricted the proportion of *vin de grave* and of champaign to one bottle per diem. The following is a Schedule of the quantities fixed by Sir Hudson Lowe in October, 1816, allowing for some reduction made on the departure of Count Las Cases. I have also annexed an account of the daily extra expenditure paid by the French themselves.

\* In June, 1818, several cases of wine arrived at St. Helena, as a present from the Princess Borghese, a part of which the Governor, after a delay of near three weeks, condescended to send up to the place of exile, while the rest was deposited in the Government stores. This important fact will perhaps account to the public for the liberal allowance of French wine stated in the *ITEMS*, while it clearly shows the author's *motives* for selecting the particular document *of that month*, in illustration of his general system of deception and imposture. Although, unlike Sir Hudson Lowe and some of his friends at St. Helena, I do not consider "a good dinner and a bottle of wine" as the only ingredients necessary to insure the happiness of a man, who is deprived of his liberty; yet it is only by following the author's most trifling as well as important details, that my remarks would be regarded as a sufficient reply to his misrepresentations and calumnies.

## C. (No. 1.)

## SUPPLIES ALLOWED BY GOVERNMENT

TO THE ESTABLISHMENT AT LONGWOOD,

*Consisting of Forty-five Persons,*

FROM OCTOBER, 1816, TO JUNE, 1817.

## DAILY.

Meat, Beef and Mutton included (lbs.) .....	82
Fowls (No.) .....	6
Bread (lbs.) ....	66
Butter (lbs.) .....	5
Lard (lbs.) .....	2
Sallad Oil (pints) .....	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Sugarcandy (lbs.) .....	4
Coffee (lbs.) .....	2
Tea, Green (lbs.) .....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Tea, Black (lbs.) .....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Candles, Wax (lbs.) .....	8
Eggs (No.) .....	30
Common Sugar (lbs.) .....	5
Cheese (lbs.) .....	1
Vinegar (quarts) .....	1
Flour (lbs.) .....	5
Salt Meat (lbs.) .....	6
Fire Wood (cwt.) .....	3
Porter, or Ale (bottles) .....	3
Vegetables (in value) .....	17.
Fruit (in value) .....	10s.
Confectionary (in value) .....	8s.



## PER FORTNIGHT.

Ducks (No.) .....	8
Turkeys (No.) .....	2
Geese (No.) .....	2
Loaf Sugar (loaves) .....	2
Fine Rice (bag).....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Hams (not to exceed 14 lbs. each) .....	2
Coals (bushels) .....	45
Fish (in value) .....	80s.
Milk (in value) .....	98s.
Fresh Butter, Salt, Mustard, Pepper, Capers, Lamp Oil, Peas .....	not to exceed in value 7l.

## WINE, DAILY.

Champaign, or Vin de Grave (bottles) .....	1
Madeira (bottles) .....	1
Constantia (bottles) .....	1
Claret* (bottles) .....	6

N. B. After the departure of the Count de Las Cases and Piontkowski, the meat was reduced to 72 lbs. daily, and the number of fowls to *five*.

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\* Cape and Teneriffe Wine for the Servants, at the rate of a bottle a day, was also given by Government, not included in the Schedule; being one pint more than the quantity daily allowed to the soldiers and sailors stationed at St. Helena.



C. (No. 2.)

M A Y, 1817.

DAILY EXTRA EXPENDITURE, PAID BY  
THE FRENCH.

	£.	s.	d.
One dozen of Eggs.....	0	5	0
Eight pounds of Butter, at 3s. per pound .....	1	4	0
Two pounds of Wax Candles, at 3s. 6d.....	0	7	0
Three Fowls, at 6s. each.....	0	18	0
Four pounds of Sugarcandy .....	0	8	0
Two pounds of Loaf Sugar.....	0	6	0
One pound of Cheese .....	0	3	0
Vegetables .....	0	10	0
Two pounds of Salt Pork .....	0	2	6
One pound of Lard.....	0	1	0
One bottle of Oil.....	0	8	0
One pound of Rice, and one of Flour .....	0	1	0
Five pounds of Common Sugar .....	0	1	6
One bottle of Vinegar.....	0	1	0
Paper for Kitchen, and Packthread .....	0	1	0
Four loaves of Bread, at 1s. 6d. each.....	0	6	0
	<hr/>		
	£.5	3	0

## WEEKLY EXTRA, DITTO.

	£.	s.	d.
Two Turkeys .....	3	0	0
One Ham .....	3	0	0
One Roasting Pig.....	0	11	0
One Bottle of Pickles.....	0	12	0
Three Bottles of Olives .....	1	4	0
	<hr/>		
	£.8	7	0

The above Expenditure does not contain the quantity of Meat bought by the French, amounting to from three to five Sheep weekly, and two Calves monthly.

The only conclusion, which can be drawn by a comparison between the allowance of provisions now furnished by Sir Hudson Lowe (if the scale in the FACTS be correct), and what he formerly allowed when the household was composed of ten *French* individuals more than there are at present, is, either that there was a great deal too little provided until Napoleon had been nearly three years on the island, or that now there is a great deal too much!

This subject will be farther illustrated by an extract from the official communication, which I had the honour of transmitting to the Secretary of the Admiralty on my return to England, and in pursuance of their Lordship's directions.

“ On the 30th of September, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe reduced the allowance of provisions, wines, &c., to the amount described in the Scale marked C, No. 1, the quantities fixed in which, were designated by himself, although his aide de camp, Major Gorrequer, was informed by General Montholon, in my presence, of the total insufficiency of the quantities fixed by Sir Hudson Lowe, which was confirmed to him and his aide de camp, both by the orderly officer and myself; and he was also told by us, that the maitre d'hotel had ordered a quantity of plate to be broken up, in order to provide money for the purchases of the necessaries of life, a sufficient quantity of which was not allowed by him. No farther steps were however adopted by Sir Hudson Lowe than ordering, that



the money derived from the sale of the plate (amounting, in the first instance, to about two hundred and thirty-eight pounds) should not be received by them, but be deposited in the hands of the purveyor, to be drawn from time to time, in small sums. An explanation given to him by the maitre d'hotel, on the 30th of December, 1816, in which the deficiencies were specifically and individually enumerated, and an account given to him of each and every article purchased, produced no other amelioration or augmentation than countermanding an order he had just given for a farther reduction in the quantity of the bread on the departure of Count de Las Cases. A similar explanation had been also frequently given to Sir Hudson Lowe by myself, more particularly on the 4th of December, 1816, on which day I enumerated to him the deficiencies, and the articles purchased by them. Sir Thomas Reade, however, was directed to *assist* the maitre d'hotel, in procuring the provisions which he purchased with the plate money (which plate was bought by the Governor himself, who fixed the price of it at five shillings the ounce); and an order was given in writing, by the Governor's directions, to Mr. Breame, the Company's farmer, to supply the French monthly with a stipulated quantity of veal at their own expense (a compliance with which caused him subsequently to be turned out of his situation by Sir Hudson Lowe, which act was disapproved by the directors of the East India



Company, and Mr. Breame has since been reinstated). Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, having been rigidly restricted by Sir Hudson Lowe to a certain price in the purchase of sheep, the mutton was frequently of a very bad quality, as no good sheep were to be obtained from the farmers at the price fixed by him, although good ones were to be purchased at a considerable increase. Similar restrictions in the price of the poultry, also, frequently prevented any of good quality arriving at Longwood. The beef, until Sir Hudson Lowe thought proper, in October, 1817, to order, that island bullocks should be slaughtered, was almost invariably of a bad quality; and notwithstanding the frequent representations to that effect made, both by the orderly officer and myself, no amelioration of consequence took place until that period; and the meat, originally bad in quality, from being carted up in the sun, was often on its arrival putrid and unfit for use. The same took place, also, with many other eatables, and several articles indispensable to the table were frequently of bad quality, in consequence of Sir Hudson Lowe having compelled the purveyor to purchase damaged and musty provisions out of the Company's stores, because they were to be obtained much cheaper there than good and merchantable articles of the same kind could be purchased in the shops. In doing this, he acted directly contrary to the system established by Sir George Cockburn, who had ordered the purveyor to provide invariably the

best articles for the French, at any price by which they might be obtained. The bread, also, was in general extremely bad; and the water invariably so during the summer months. Soon after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival, fresh butter was no longer sent to Napoleon Bonaparte; and I have been credibly informed, that the milk of the cows, specifically destined for that purpose by Sir George Cockburn, was ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe to be sent to his *own house*.

“ Any savings made by the French, in articles allowed by the Governor, and not consumed by them (the English confectionary, for example), were ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe to be credited to the account of Government, instead of allowing the French to balance, by means of them (as they desired), any increased consumption in other articles beyond the amount indicated by the scale.”

The distress produced amongst the French, by the reduction alluded to in the foregoing extract (especially in Count Bertrand's family), was very great. The number of mouths to be fed was *forty-five*, independent of Chinese; and at this time Count Bertrand lived in a little cottage at Hut's Gate, about a mile from Longwood; and the scarcity of provisions, combined with the uncertainty of the time of their arrival, was such, that Countess Bertrand has been occasionally obliged to send to the officer of the Hut's Gate guard, to borrow a little bread for her children's breakfast, and wood to cook their victuals, as nothing of the



kind could be purchased nearer than James' Town, five miles distant. To obtain permission to proceed thither, moreover, was not to be effected without having first obtained a pass from some of the Governor's agents. In consequence of the ambiguity and obscurity of the orders given to the sentinels, the men, who brought the provisions, were often denied permission to enter, and servants, bearing medicines for the sick, met with similar treatment. Such was the terror inspired by the consciousness of responsibility, that the sentinels frequently stopped, catechized, and detained Count Bertrand and his family, even when entering their own door.

It may be necessary to explain to such of my readers as have not visited the continent, that the French mode of living differs entirely from our own. The French breakfast, like the East India tiffin, consists of soups, hot joints, fowls, ragouts, with wine, &c., being, in fact, nearly the same as the dinner, except that in the latter a greater number of dishes are served up. This necessarily caused the consumption of nearly a double quantity of meat. In order to make a *soupe consommé*, about thirty pounds of the bad St. Helena meat were required by the cook, after which forty-two pounds remained for breakfast and dinner, to be divided amongst four separate families, consisting of forty persons\*. All this was minutely and repeatedly explained to Sir Hudson Lowe, without any

\* A diminution of five persons took place in the establishment after the departure of Count de Las Cases, Piontkowski, &c.



effect, however, until the arrival of the newspapers containing the discussion in the House of Peers upon Lord Holland's motion on the 18th of March, 1817. The representations contained in Lord Bathurst's Speech, in reply to Lord Holland upon that occasion, appeared to produce some degree of embarrassment and shame, even in Sir Hudson Lowe himself, as he endeavoured to explain them away by stating, "that his Lordship's speech had not been correctly reported in the newspapers which had arrived (*viz.* the Courier, Times, Star, and Morning Chronicle); that he had received no official statement of it from Lord Bathurst, which he had no doubt would be materially different from any which had appeared in the newspapers." For my own part, I most solemnly declare, that I would have infinitely preferred going into action with the enemy, to entering Napoleon's room, when sent for in order to explain some passages in his Lordship's speech. For the first time in my life, I felt ashamed of being a Briton; and in my embarrassment thought, that the best excuse I could offer was to avail myself of the one invented by Sir Hudson Lowe.

"JE VOIS," said Napoleon, "AVEC PLAISIR, QU'EN S'ADRESSANT AU PARLEMENT, A SA NATION ET A L'EUROPE, LE MINISTRE ANGLAIS A JUSTIFIE' SA CONDUITE ATROCE ENVERS MOI AVEC DES MENSONGES, TRISTE RESSOURCE QUI NE DURE PAS LONG TEMPS."

The details to which Sir Hudson Lowe de-

scended, are difficult to be paralleled. On one occasion he observed to General Montholon, in my presence, that he thought the consumption of *basket salt* was too great at Longwood; that much more was used than at *Plantation House*; and therefore he desired, that, for the future, common salt (*sel gris*) should be substituted as much as possible for it. To the same officer he also subsequently observed, that, “upon inspecting the washing bills of the families at Longwood, it appeared to him there was a charge to a large amount for the washing of shirts (at this time, by a regulation of Sir George Cockburn, the whole expense of washing was defrayed by Government, but was subsequently abridged by Sir Hudson Lowe); and that, upon making a calculation, he found the proportion exceeded *one per diem*, for each person, which he thought very extravagant; and begged to remark, that he himself was content with one daily, which *he* deemed quite sufficient. In a similar manner, and prior to the departure of Count de Las Cases, he wanted to regulate the number of fires at Longwood, where there were *five* families, by those burned at *Plantation House*, where there was only *one*, without taking into consideration, that the French were natives of a warmer and much drier climate than that of England, and consequently more susceptible of the effects of cold and humidity. Upon the origin and motives, which could induce a Governor and Lieutenant General to audit and scrutinize *washing*



*bills* it is for his panegyrist, the author of the "FACTS," to explain.

The author states, that he has visited the stores at Hut's Gate, which, he says, are fitted up and arranged expressly for Longwood, and contain every article of the first quality from London. It must be satisfactory to learn, that Sir Hudson Lowe has, after three years residence on the island, at last discovered the utility and necessity of a measure, which was strongly recommended to him by various persons, and amongst others by myself, immediately after his arrival at St. Helena.

In the next sentence, the bread is described to be made of the very best flour, and excellent, and the water "pure, fine, and clear." Now the bread, while I was there, was, in general, of a quality quite the reverse, so much so, indeed, that I occasionally felt it my duty to take a piece of that which was baked for Napoleon to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order that he might convince himself of its excessive badness; and Napoleon for several months made use of American biscuit, bought by his maitre d'hôtel in lieu of it. Sir Hudson Lowe endeavoured to excuse the badness of its quality by abusing Carr, the baker, who very naturally replied, that it was extremely hard for him to be found fault with, because he could not succeed in making good bread out of *bad flour!* The water, conveyed to the butts at Longwood in the pipe lately constructed, is, during a great part of two or three of the hot months, extremely turbid, nau-



seous, and thick, and, I have no doubt, contributes to produce the dysentery, so prevalent upon the island. So scarce is it then, that the soldiers of the 66th regiment are obliged to furnish numerous fatigue parties, in order to drag a supply of it from Wells Cottage and Miss Mason's, about three miles from their camp, as many of the mounted officers in St. Helena have reason to remember, from the falls they received, in consequence of their horses being frightened by the number of casks rolling along the road. The so much boasted "pure, fine, and clear water," is brought to Longwood by a servant of *their own*, and paid *by them* for that purpose.

In page 10, the author very wittily observes, that "the little man is living on a fertile plain," and that the shade, afforded by the wood attached to Napoleon's residence, is so luxuriant, that the house is imperceptible at three hundred yards, "among the trees which spring healthily from turf, as fine and fresh as ever was trodden." The "fertile plain," is situated upon the summit of a mountain, from one thousand eight hundred to two thousand feet above the level of the sea; and in so exposed, unpromising, and bleak a spot, that, with the exception of Longwood House, and that of the Company's farmer, the whole of it was *uninhabited*, until the arrival of Napoleon, and presented little else than a barren, melancholy waste, although probably too good, in the opinions of Sir Hudson Lowe and his fulsome adulator, for the fallen Emperor.

The fact is, that the "long wood" is almost wholly composed of a species of gum wood (*Conyza Gummifera*), as stated by Mr. Secretary Brooke, in his History of St. Helena, published in 1808, page 258, who, speaking of Longwood, says, "the gum wood, however, is the *only* kind of tree which grows there." The gum wood is a tree, which, in consequence of the leaves being chiefly confined to the ends of the branchlets, does not afford that thick foliage, so necessary to intercept the rays of the sun. This is amply proved by the tree's not furnishing even a sufficiency of shade to preserve the grass, that grows round the trunk, in a state of partial verdure, during the hot season; to which, the distance they are planted from each other also materially contributes. Gum wood is chiefly used as fuel, and affords food for millions of large blue flies, that are very fond of a saccharine juice, which at certain seasons of the year exudes from the tree, and whose visits, in myriads, are most irksomely frequent at Longwood.

As if the author had not done ample justice to the "fertile plain" and "luxuriant shade," he proceeds to say, "The country surrounding it (Longwood) is beautifully adapted for riding or driving; the whole of which, to the extent of twelve or thirteen miles, Napoleon has the UNDISTURBED PRIVILEGE OF ENJOYING UNSEEN AND UNATTENDED."

To the above assertion, which I should have deemed truly extraordinary, had it proceeded from



any other writer than the author of the "FACTS," it is hoped the following statements will be considered as a sufficient refutation.

Pursuant to the regulation established by Sir Hudson Lowe, in October, 1816, Napoleon was ordered, even within the limits allotted to him, not to stir off the high road, not to speak to any person he met, nor to enter any house, unless in the presence of a British officer, who had directions to interfere whenever he thought proper; and even those, who procured passports from the Governor to see him, were prohibited from conversing with any of his suite, while the persons received at Longwood were obliged to make a report of the conversations which they had held with Bonaparte, or the other prisoners.

This may account for the perverted details and calumnious paragraphs which have appeared since Napoleon's confinement; evidently furnished by persons who had some intercourse with Longwood.

So that the space of twelve or thirteen miles, described by the author, was no more than a line intersecting a large space, and if Napoleon had moved off the high road, only for a few minutes, any of the numerous sentinels posted on it would be fully justified in shooting him for an attempt to escape; an event very likely to have happened, during the rapidity of his movements on horseback, when he did ride out (before Sir Hudson's arrival), and the ambiguity of the orders



which has been given to the soldiers subsequent to that event.

Napoleon's reasons for confining himself were, in order to prevent the possibility of his being stopped, insulted, and detained, by the sentinels, as had happened to *all* the members of his suite, who ventured out (not even excepting the ladies), either caused by the blunders of private soldiers, the ambiguity and obscurity of orders given to them, or otherwise. General Gourgaud, in particular, was, during his rides *within* the limits, stopped almost daily, upon the high road, by the sentinels, and detained until (to use a seaman's expression) he had been *overhauled* by the sergeant or corporal commanding the guard.

Previous to Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival at St. Helena, some degree of social intercourse existed between Longwood and the respectable inhabitants, and others residing upon the island, and instead of "shunning as a basilisk" the very sight of the British uniform, a week scarcely passed, that officers clothed in that uniform did not dine at Napoleon's table, Napoleon himself frequently rode out on horseback, or in a carriage, by means of which his person became *familiar* to the soldiers, and others who were entrusted with the charge of him. It is a fact, which deserves to be recorded, that during the time this system was in force, not a *single letter* was sent from Longwood, unless through the regular Government channels,

The state of affairs, if not wholly agreeable, was at least tolerable, and some regard was paid to decency. Immediately after Sir George Cockburn's departure, Sir Hudson Lowe changed every thing which had been established by his predecessor, approved of by Government, that had given sufficient satisfaction to the French, and lasted nine months, without having produced the least inconvenience; in lieu of this, he introduced a system of restrictions without a parallel in *British history*, denying at first that he had altered any thing, but subsequently asserting to the inhabitants of Longwood, that Sir George Cockburn had, previous to his departure, acknowledged to him, that great inconvenience was produced by the system then in force; that he (Sir George Cockburn) had then suggested, and strongly recommended, the rigorous alterations which he had since been compelled to put in execution. This artifice failed however in producing the intended effect, as nobody at Longwood gave the smallest credit to his assertions. In the mean time, Napoleon confined himself to the house, conceiving, and with good reason, that submitting to avail himself of the privilege of going out under such conditions, as those imposed by Sir Hudson Lowe, would be no less degrading to his character than mortifying to his feelings, while it must in *his* case, particularly, give ample ground to calumniators like the author of the "FACTS," to display their malignity, by representing him as a man, who, through a



pusillanimous fear of death, was glad to sacrifice his future reputation, and submit to every species of degradation, even to that of being led about like a wild beast by his keeper, in order to purchase a few years more of a dishonourable existence in captivity. This state of confinement and inactivity, combined with the effects of the climate, want of society and amusement, and the vexations inflicted on him, could not fail to produce disease on a man, who, during the preceding part of his life, had his mental and bodily faculties so actively and continually employed; consequently HEPATITIS, with its usual train of distressing symptoms, followed.

When complaints were made by the prisoners of the treatment they received from Sir Hudson Lowe, the latter frequently replied, either by verbal insinuations of turning them off the island, or by enclosing them such extracts as the following from Lord Bathurst's Correspondence.

“ It appears very desirable, that the officers, who are allowed to continue with him, should clearly understand, that their protracted residence at St. Helena is an act of indulgence shown by the Prince Regent, for the purpose of rendering the confinement of General Bonaparte as little irksome to him as the circumstances of the case will admit. They therefore ought to be fully aware, that any *abuse of this indulgence, either on his part, or on theirs, will require an alteration in the system* which his Royal Highness has been desirous of

adopting in this particular. Had they understood *their real situation*, it cannot be imagined, that they would *have ventured to send you the declarations*, of which you transmitted to me the copies."

London, July 9, 1816.

"With respect to his followers, they cannot be too frequently reminded, that their continuance in the island is an act of indulgence, on the part of the British Government; and you will inform them, that you have received strict instructions to remove them from the person of General Bonaparte, if they shall not conduct themselves *with that respect, which your situation demands*, and with *that strict attention to your regulations*, which is the *indispensable condition on which their residence on the island is permitted*."

July 17, 1816.

"I have received and laid before the Prince Regent your dispatch, No. 23, of the 29th of August.

"Whatever doubt you may have felt as to the mode in which you are required to conduct yourself towards the attendants of General Bonaparte, will have been effectually removed by my dispatch of the 17th of July.

"If an opportunity should offer, you will not fail to assure General Bonaparte, that, if *the continued attendance of these persons is desirable to*



*him, it is only to be secured by their evincing a proper respect for your situation and authority.*

(Signed) BATHURST."

In consequence of these menaces, they adopted the plan of forwarding their complaints to England, by private channels, with the hope of obtaining redress.

In the same page the author describes, "the raging wind, as the refreshing South East Trade, which renders the climate healthy and temperate, and the blights, which accrue to the vegetation, from its paralysing effects, exhibit their influence in a most surprising manner, in the luxuriant produce of a kitchen garden, which, although the Count affirms, that no such convenient appendage ever could be established at Longwood, *covers at this moment about three or four acres of ground, within two hundred yards of the house, and under the superintendance of a man of the name of Porteous, produces remarkable fine vegetables.*" Now at page 126, the author forgets himself, and betrays the truth by slipping out, "*that all the houses in St. Helena are carefully contrived so as to have the front towards the South East sheltered.*" Sheltered from what! *From this refreshing South East Trade*; which he before stated to produce such *beneficent effects on health.* The truth is, that Longwood is one of the most unpleasant situations on the island. On the summit of a plain, some parts of which are elevated two thou-

sand feet above the level of the ocean, it is exposed to a constant South East wind, charged with humidity, and enveloped in fogs and rain for the greatest part of the year, as can be proved by the journal of the thermometer kept there. Many a time have I commiserated the unfortunate sentinels, while shivering under a piercing blast rushing from the sea, and driving the rain along with an *impetus*, which drenches the best great coat in a few minutes. For about one month in the twelve, there is fine weather; for two, a powerful vertical sun prevails, with the usual concomitants of the tropics, and for eight or nine, I have no hesitation in saying, the weather at Longwood is the most disagreeable that can well be conceived. Generally enveloped in fog or rain, the sky occasionally clears up, and the rays of the sun beam forth. These appearances are, however, very transitory, as in a short time the hemisphere becomes again obscured, thick fogs cover the "fertile plain," and heavy rain impetuously forced along by the strong *South East Trade*, drenches whoever had been induced, by the delusive appearance of sunshine, to venture on a walk. These changes of temperature often occur several times in the course of a day, and are one great cause of the unhealthiness of the island. The soil of Longwood is a tenacious argillaceous clay, which in wet weather collects and adheres in such a mass to the shoes of the pedestrian, as materially to impede his progress, and to render a promenade any thing but



agreeable. That this is a correct sketch of the general state of the weather in the upper regions of St. Helena, I am convinced all those, who have resided for *some months* in that island, will corroborate. I do not mean to appeal to transitory passengers, who, like the author of this pamphlet, have during their short stay lived at Plantation House (the shady scenery about which is really beautiful, while the house is elegant and commodious); and who on a fine day have been *brought out* to admire the picturesque scenery, and listen to florid descriptions of the fineness of the climate, which artifice I know to have been practised more than once. How well the author of the "FACTS" has availed himself of these descriptions, *couleur de rose*, may be seen by a reference to the fascinating plates that embellish his book, two of which, in point of *accuracy*, and extraneous decoration, would not disgrace the talents of a second Dr. Syntax.

The garden, which the author evidently wishes to impress upon the minds of his readers as forming a part of Longwood, is situate in Deadwood, *six hundred yards from the house, in a deep ravine*, completely sheltered from the "refreshing South East Trade;" and the vegetables which it produces are *sold* for the profit of the East India Company. Moreover, water has been lately brought to irrigate this garden, which no entreaties could ever induce Sir Hudson Lowe to bring for that purpose to *Longwood*. So far from Longwood

garden being productive, almost every crop, which it was endeavoured to raise on it, has failed (even that of barley\*, which at Napoleon's request was sown there, in order to try if something resembling verdure could be made to spring from it); the principal cause of which failure arose from its being exposed to the "refreshing South-East Trade;" to some peculiarity of soil; and to the destruction of the young plants by a species of black grub, an insect, whose voracity and mischievous qualities are so well described in Major General Beatson's Tracts on St. Helena, and so tenacious of life, that "even a strong solution of tobacco or of alkali" is said to fail in destroying it. The only plant which thrives at Longwood is the spurge, a most offensive weed, whose noisome leaves have been converted by the *poetical* genius of the author into sweet smelling flowers! This statement, of the bad effects produced by exposure to the "refreshing South East Trade," is confirmed by Mr. Secretary Brooke, in his History of St. Helena, page 288. "But it is only in the most *sheltered* spots of the island that the oak attains perfection; in exposed situations, the *trade wind, blowing continually in the same direction, produces very baneful effects upon this, as upon most other trees not indigenous to the soil.*" Mr. Brooke is now senior member of the council of St. Helena.

\* "Governor Danbar was unwearied in his exertions to watch over the resources and fertility of the island. Experiments in the cultivation of oats, barley, and wheat, at Long-



In page 14, another mistatement occurs, and by the way of rendering it more conspicuous, it is printed in capitals, *viz.* “that no sentinels whatsoever are placed within sight of the house during the day, where they can be visible to him.” As it happens, there is a sentinel constantly within ten yards of the house, on the path leading past the South wing of the building, in which are General Montholon’s apartments ; and he is placed in so public a situation as to render it impossible for any person, who visits Longwood, to avoid seeing him\*.

Napoleon’s “rooted antipathy to red coats” was certainly strongly marked by his having invited some of them to dine with him almost every week, *before Sir Hudson Lowe’s arrival* ; that is to say, before they were *prevented* from visiting him ; by the request, which he made, to have all the officers of the 53d, and 66th regiments, as well as those of the squadron, introduced to him, and by the polite manner in which he always received them. It is next asserted, that “an objection having been stated by some of his followers to his using the high road to James’ Town rather than Huts Gate, because there was wood, gave rise to such hopes of success, that a *barn* was erected there ; but, on a failure of subsequent crops, it was converted into a residence for the Lieutenant Governor. This disappointment is supposed to have arisen either from drought, or *some peculiarity of the climate* or soil, and not, as has sometimes been asserted, from the depredations of rats.” Brooke’s History of St. Helena, page 255.

\* This sentinel has orders to stop and examine all persons, except staff officers, who attempt to pass in that direction.

an English picquet there, Sir Hudson Lowe instantly directed the picquet to be removed out of sight of the road." This is also a misrepresentation. Complaints were made, that *every* person of his suite, who went so far, was stopped and detained by the sentinels, until examined and released by the sergeants, or corporals, commanding the picquets. For nearly two years Sir Hudson Lowe paid no attention whatever to them. At last, however, he removed the picquet about forty yards farther; and, if posting a guard upon the top of a hill is to place it out of sight, this was doing so effectually. To any person acquainted with the relative situation of Deadwood and Longwood, it must be evident, that the barracks there could not be placed entirely out of view from a house at Longwood, at least unless they stood in the ravine, not inaptly denominated the Devil's punch bowl, close to it.

The captain, also, who lives at Longwood, is placed there as a guard over his person, and has orders to satisfy himself of Napoleon's actual presence *twice in the twenty-four hours*, and not *solely* to act as an orderly officer in attendance upon him, should he wish to pass the limits, as stated by the author; for he has declared, that he will never go out with him, and *never* has passed the limits since the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe: it will also be seen, by Sir Hudson Lowe's restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816, that it was specifically stated, "should he (Napoleon) be desirous of passing the limits, an officer



of the *Governor's personal staff* will be prepared to attend ;" and the orderly officer was only permitted to perform that office, "*should time not admit.*"

Alluding to the remarks, which he asserts to have been made, relative to *sighting* Napoleon, the author observes, " So cautiously is the daily view taken of him, that unless he has been told the fact by his minion, it is very probable, that he is as little aware of the circumstance as he may be of the signal." This is another palpable misrepresentation, as *Sir Hudson Lowe himself* told Count Bertrand, that the orderly captain must see Bonaparte twice a day; and even wanted to insist, that this officer should enter his room when he was sick, which was one of the *first causes of dispute* between them, in May, 1816; in fact, every action of Napoleon is narrowly watched, and as scrupulously reported.

In page 17, Count Bertrand is made to say, that he could at all times ensure the safe delivery of letters to their address in Europe. It is, however, well worthy of remark, that none were sent by private channels, until Sir Hudson Lowe threatened to turn the French in Napoleon's suite off the island, if they made any more complaints against him.

To prove the impolicy of allowing newspapers to be received at Longwood, the author enters into a minute account of an advertisement, in cypher, which appeared in the Antigallican, Novem-

ber 3, 1816. When the whole of the facts connected with this curious circumstance are before the public, it will be for every impartial man to draw his own conclusion, and say how far the author's *humane* intention, of depriving the prisoners of papers, is proved necessary.

In the first place, not a single number of the *Anti-gallican*, except *one*, ever arrived at Longwood, until May or June, 1818; and *that one* was sent there by Sir Hudson Lowe's directions, under the following circumstances, then inexplicable. Shortly after the publication of Mr. Warden's book, a letter addressed to "General Bonaparte" appeared in the *Antigallican*. *This paper was given to me by Sir Thomas Reade in his own house, in July, 1817, WITH DIRECTIONS TO DELIVER IT TO NAPOLEON.* On the 3d of November, 1816, says the author, an advertisement appeared in cypher in that paper (with the key of which it appears the *writer* of the *Facts* is perfectly acquainted); by comparing this with the circumstance of the *Antigallican* having been purposely sent up by Sir Hudson Lowe to Longwood, it will not perhaps be considered unjust to infer, that the whole was a plan devised by the *author's friends* as a pretext to excuse the system which had been adopted towards Napoleon, of withdrawing from him every number of the *TIMES* and other newspapers, in which there appeared any article, that might be supposed calculated to afford him some consolation.



In order to illustrate this mysterious subject still farther, it is worth the reader's while to observe, that on the 23d of August, 1816, complaints were officially made, by Count Montholon, to Sir Hudson Lowe, stating, that only a few unconnected numbers of the *TIMES* were sent to Longwood; and that the first advertisement, in cypher, appeared in the above named paper, on *the 20th of October following*. It should also be kept in mind, as *a very curious fact*, that the noble secretary of state for the home department made a point of alluding to this *important* discovery, in his Speech relative to the treatment of Napoleon, March 17, 1817, in reply to the manly and eloquent appeal of Lord Holland.

The manner in which Mr. Goldsmith has replied to the author's insinuations, merits attention, and clearly explains the way his paper was made the vehicle of some designing persons\*.

Notwithstanding his professions of impartiality and tenderness, the author does not even allow infancy to escape his scurrility or censure; he cannot therefore endeavour to prove, that St. Helena is a healthy spot, without bestowing the epithet of "*traitors*" on Count Bertrand's children. This malignant spirit, and indiscriminate abuse of *all* the prisoners, savours strongly of those sentiments

\* The British Monitor, formerly the Antigallican, of April 4 and April 11, contain some strictures on the "*FACTS*," together with a well merited castigation of their author.

which are known to influence some of the inmates and visitors of Plantation House, where the writer has doubtless taken his *initiative degrees*.

With respect to St. Helena's being "positively and decidedly healthy," I have merely to say, that, during my residence at Longwood, there was not a single individual of Napoleon's suite (with the exception of Count Bertrand), who had not been seriously, and most of them *dangerously ill*; either with fever, dysentery, inflammation of the bowels, or liver; to many of them the assistance of other practitioners on the island was called in by me. All of Count Bertrand's and General Montholon's children had been *dangerously ill*; and three deaths occurred at Longwood from inflammations of the bowels, and dysentery, in as many weeks.

An error of the press, by which the 6th regiment was printed for the 66th in the Letters from the Cape, is brought forward to invalidate the statements contained in that volume, relative to the unhealthiness of the St. Helena climate. Having corrected the mistake, I beg leave farther to observe, in reply to the author's insinuations, that fifty-six men died in the second battalion of that regiment, during the first thirteen months after their arrival in the island, chiefly from *dysentery* and *hepatitis*.

In page 21, the author endeavours to acquire a little importance, by an attempt to depreciate the character of a distinguished and gallant officer. The ludicrous impertinence with which



this histrionic personage exclaims, " I KNOW HIM," towards the end of that bombastic paragraph, is truly *farcical*\*.

The author states, that he endeavoured to make himself as well acquainted as possible with the state of Bonaparte's health, which he asserts (from a declaration said by him to have been made in Longwood House) never to have been better since his arrival there. Now in the very next page he states, that Napoleon had refused to see the medical man appointed by Sir Hudson Lowe to attend him. It may, therefore, be naturally asked, how he could become acquainted with the real state of the former's health? The author, however, explains

\* Those who really know SIR ROBERT WILSON, and are at this moment applauding his patriotic efforts in the House of Commons, without forgetting an act of heroic humanity, to which the public voice of Europe has done ample justice, will not fail to characterize the insinuation relative to Santini's pamphlet, as an *infamous tissue of slander*, well worthy the venal and unprincipled source, in which it has originated. Having asked the publisher of that statement, whether there was a *particle of truth* in the authors *inuendos*, Mr. Ridgway requested, that I would give the following certificate a place in the present publication.

*I do hereby certify, that Santini's work was translated by a person regularly employed by me, and who was paid by me for that translation.*

(Signed) JAMES RIDGWAY.

April 3, 1819.

The above attempt to vilify the character of the gallant general is only one amongst many, which I shall have occasion to notice in the course of this Reply.

it in page 22, and in a way which, to do him justice, has the merit of novelty to recommend it, *viz.* “On the 10th of November he was in the varhandha adjoining his billiard room, *with a red nightcap on his head*”—a most extraordinary criterion, certainly, for pronouncing that a man was in excellent health! It is added, that, “on the 12th of the same month, he was walking and whistling in the same place, with every appearance of excellent spirits.” As to the first proof of health, *the red nightcap*, it unfortunately happens for the author of these “FACTS,” that Napoleon never wears a nightcap of any colour; and as to the excellent state of health which he is made to be in, I can positively aver, that Napoleon Bonaparte had been, for some months previous to my departure from St. Helena, affected with symptoms of *confirmed hepatitis*; and that, after having given purgatives, and the other remedies usually prescribed in such cases, a fair trial, instead of diminishing, I found that the symptoms of his disease aggravated daily. Apprehensive, therefore, that the result might be fatal, as had so frequently occurred to others afflicted with the same complaint, subsequent to my arrival in the island, I prevailed upon Napoleon to allow me to employ mercurial preparations, which were accordingly commenced on the 11th of June, 1817, and continued, with some interruptions, principally produced by a severe catarrh, caused by the dampness and bad state of his



apartments, the floors of which are level with the external ground, until my removal from Longwood on the 25th of July following.

On the 10th of July *alarming symptoms* having appeared, and being anxious about the fate of my patient, as well as my own reputation, reflecting on the insinuations which had been made to me, and the great responsibility attached to the charge of such a patient, I became scrupulously cautious, and insisted upon obtaining, what I had before most forcibly urged the necessity of, *viz.* the advice and assistance of other professional men; and for that purpose proposed to call in any of the following medical gentlemen, namely, Messrs. Baxter, Stokoe, Livingstone, Henry, and Verling, recommending the two first from their seniority of rank. Napoleon, however, manifested great repugnance to Mr. Baxter, whom he designated as having been "*Chirurgien Major d'un regiment dont Sir Hudson Lowe avoit été Colonel et parcequ'il a assisté à la redaction des faux bulletins sans avoir vu le malade,*" and for other reasons, but consented to see Mr. Stokoe, who was sent for early in the morning. On his arrival, he examined the medical journal of Napoleon's treatment; but being apprehensive of the resentment, which might be wreaked upon him, if his opinion, after seeing Napoleon, were not in unison with the views of others, and possessed of too much honour to sacrifice truth to interested motives, he begged

leave to decline seeing Napoleon, unless in the presence of some other surgeon, specifically chosen by Sir Hudson Lowe. After having attentively considered the journal, however, he gave it as his opinion, that the complaint was HEPATITIS, and recommended a continuance of the mercurial plan. The same day, I was sent for by Sir Hudson Lowe to make *verbal reports* (the latter having, as soon as Napoleon's complaint assumed a serious appearance, not only prohibited me from making him written ones, but sent back those which I had transmitted to him); but not conceiving myself justified in leaving Napoleon in the alarming state he then was, I wrote the following Letter to Major Gorrequer, his aide de camp, for the information of the Governor, who was himself then recovering from a severe fit of illness.

Longwood, July 10, 1818.

SIR;

The progress of hepatitis, with which Napoleon Bonaparte has been affected for some months, having increased in a manner alarming to me, I commenced administering preparations of mercury to him on the 11th of June last, which were continued until the 27th, when, in consequence of effects produced by the humidity of the season, and also perceiving, that considerable nervous sensibility and irritability was produced by the use of it, I judged it necessary to discontinue the remedy; but having, on the 2d of July, ob-



served, that the above-mentioned appearances were ameliorated, I commenced mercurials again, which produced a considerable degree of nervous agitation, and last night especially he was very ill. This morning I was called to see him at half past five, the valet de chambre finding him in an alarming state. I explained to him, as forcibly as I could, the necessity of calling a consultation, and proposed to send for the two first medical men in this island, *viz.* Mr. Baxter and Mr. Stokoe. He manifested a repugnance to call in Mr. Baxter; but he at last authorized me to send for Mr. Stokoe; for which purpose I wrote to him a letter on the spot, and awoke Captain Blakeney, in order to have it sent. Since that time I have seen him three times, and have found considerable debility to prevail.

Mr. Stokoe came up about three o'clock, not with a view of entering into a consultation, or of seeing Napoleon Bonaparte, but to excuse himself on the plea of the responsibility being too great, and not wishing to run the risk of "*getting himself into any scrapes.*" He had also some conversation with Count Bertrand.

My chief reason for calling in Mr. Stokoe was, to obtain his opinion, relative to the propriety of continuing the mercurial treatment. I am not apprehensive of any immediate danger of his life, and the question hung upon the treatment it was advisable to pursue; on one side, to guard against

the deleterious effects of the remedy upon the delicacy of his organs, and, on the other, the necessity there was to administer it in a manner so as effectually to eradicate the disease.

I must, therefore, beg to remain at Longwood to-morrow, and, indeed, not to leave it until he recovers from effects, chiefly caused by debility and the administration of the mercury necessary for the cure of his complaints.

I beg of you to submit the above for the consideration of the Governor, and remain,

Sir, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

Upon the so much extolled climate of St. Helena, I hope the following remarks, founded upon actual observation and experience, will not be deemed superfluous on the present occasion; and to render it more intelligible to the unprofessional reader, I beg leave to offer a few preliminary observations.

To sudden diurnal vicissitudes of temperature, especially when accompanied with rain or humidity, may be ascribed the greatest part of the diseases which affect the human constitution. Rapid transitions from heat to cold, render the extreme vessels on the surface of the body torpid, impelling at the same time a quantity of blood upon some of the internal organs. Sudden atmospherical changes injure, by the consent of parts between the exterior and



the interior, producing, in some climates, such as that of England, affections of the lungs; in tropical ones, where the biliary system is so liable to derangement, affections of the liver. The great sympathy existing between the skin, liver, and intestines, has never been more strongly characterized than by the number of violent and fatal affections of the two latter organs, which have occurred, and daily occur, in St. Helena, where the atmospherical vicissitudes are so frequent and rapid, and where such humidity prevails.

The interior of St. Helena is chiefly formed of successions of high, steep, and unequal ridges of hills, the most elevated of which are two thousand six hundred feet above the level of the ocean, divided by deep, narrow, and long ravines, some of which, at the bottom, are not more than a few feet above the level of the sea; whoever, therefore, wishes to take a ride of a few miles, must calculate on passing through different climates every half hour. One moment becalmed in the bottom of the ravines, he experiences the heat of the torrid zone, in a latitude of  $15^{\circ} 55'$  south; a moment afterwards, crossing the aperture of some chasm, perspiring from every pore, the temporary lull is succeeded by a sudden and bleak blast from the mountains, the effects of which, when combined with the humidity accompanying it, are to produce a rapid evaporation and abstraction of animal heat from the surface of the body, thereby driving the blood from it to the interior. Emerging from the

valley, covered with perspiration, a similar cutting blast strikes you on reaching the summit of the mountains, producing the same effects.

Reckoning one degree of reduced temperature for every two hundred feet of elevation, there will be found a difference of ten degrees temperature between Longwood, which is about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the town; to which may be added two or three degrees more, arising from the sharp South East wind, loaded with humidity, which generally prevails in the high regions, and the consequent effect of the rapid evaporation, which will make the difference of temperature between it and the vallies amount to twelve or thirteen degrees; which is actually the case. Add to the foregoing, the frequent vicissitudes of temperature\*, at one moment assailed by a shower of rain and fog, to which the strength of the wind communicates such an impetus as to cause it to penetrate the best great coat in a few minutes; shortly afterwards, the sky brightens, the weather clears up, and the scorching rays of a tropical sun beam forth. This continues for a short time, and is suddenly followed by a repeti-

\* The range of the thermometer at Longwood is from 53° Fahrenheit to 80° in the shade: though I have seen it for a short time (and that very rarely) as high as 86°, about the hour of three in the afternoon, when the rays of the Sun were directed upon the North-west front of the house. In the admiral's house, which is situated in the centre of James' Town, its range is from 66° to 100°.



tion of fog, rain, and mist\*. This alternate drenching and scorching is, of itself, sufficient (as every medical man will allow) to produce the most violent inflammatory affections of the viscera, particularly in those of the abdomen.

Thus, it appears, that St. Helena, in addition to the general causes of insalubrity to Europeans, which are inseparable from a tropical climate, has also local and peculiar causes for being particularly unhealthy, as the great mortality, to be hereafter described, amply proves. The most trifling cold, or irregularity, is frequently succeeded by a violent attack of dysentery, inflammation of the bowels, or fever, proving fatal in a few days, if the most active and efficacious practice is not instantly adopted. A surfeit in a child, which in Europe would require nothing more than a little warm water to produce evacuation, there, becomes a formidable disease, requiring the most powerful remedies, and, if neglected only for a few hours, terminates fatally. To Europeans, the climate is peculiarly unfriendly; and, indeed, it is unfavourable to longevity in all subjects, even the natives, as, by an examination of the parish registers, it will be seen, that very few persons

\* "Hence it appears, that St. Helena, during these last three years, had its full share of rain, and in much greater quantity than usually falls in London, which, by an average of eleven years, is no more than 21,25 inches, whereas the average of four years at St. Helena was 33,38 inches." Major General Beatson's introductory chapter, relative to the island of St. Helena, page xxxvi.

pass their forty-fifth year\*. The most prevalent complaints amongst the human species are, dysenteries, inflammations of the bowels, liver affections, and fevers, all of them of a violent type. Dysenteries, especially, and liver affections (which are indeed frequently combined), appear in the most concentrated and fatal forms, baffling the prompt exhibition of the most active and powerful remedies; and, in spite of the acknowledged skill and experience of several able practitioners there, terminate fatally, in a proportion never before witnessed in any British colony. During the first twelve or thirteen months, after its arrival at St. Helena, the second battalion of the 66th regiment lost, by these diseases, FIFTY-SIX men, out of a strength of six hundred and thirty, being one in eleven; and, still more recently, the Conqueror, which ship arrived in July, 1817, has lost, in eighteen months, almost entirely by the same complaints, ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MEN, out of a complement of six hundred, besides ONE HUNDRED

\* The reader is particularly requested, to compare the following extract from a very authentic source, and corroborative of my own opinion, with the author's observations on the same subject.—“The only endemic disorders, to which the natives are subject, are of the catarrhal kind: these, as they belong to the inflammatory class, may, in some measure, account, notwithstanding their general robust health, for the *few instances, among the islanders, of longevity*; according to the information of a professional friend, who has assisted this account with his opinion and judgment.” *Vide Brooke's History of St. Helena, page 34.*



AND SEVEN INVALIDED and sent to England, being more than a third of her complement. The number of deaths in the two battalions of the 66th regiment, I cannot positively state, but believe it to have exceeded one hundred and twenty men. A reference to the official returns will, however, easily elucidate this point. In the West Indies, the proportion of deaths to the strength was, in the year 1814, as one to twenty-five, and of deaths to diseases as one to thirty-six and two-thirds. Yet how trifling does the mortality there appear, when compared with that of St. Helena. At the latter place, it is so great, that the Governor and Admiral, apprehensive of the effects which might be produced by a longer residence in the island, and, doubtless, desirous of alleviating their miseries as far as they could, sent upwards of seventy of the sick in one month to England and the Cape. Above half of those sent to the last named place (who were the worst cases), have no doubt been ere now laid in their "quiet graves."

The Conqueror was also sent to cruize to windward of the island for six weeks, without, however, much benefit having accrued from the measure. It is worthy of observation, that the *Racoon's* ship's company had suffered severely from dysentery and hepatitis, while stationed at St. Helena; but when sent to the Cape they recovered, and became very healthy, which state of health continued as long as the vessel remained *there*; but, on her return to St. Helena, *dysentery* and *hepatitis* again appeared,

and a heavy sick list followed\*! Another strong proof of the effects of the climate in producing dysentery is to be found in the instance of the female convict ship, Friendship, which vessel arrived at St. Helena from England, in November, 1817. She remained eight or ten days to water. Dysentery soon made its appearance, and, in the course of four or five weeks, above one hundred cases of it had occurred; yet, previous to her touching at St. Helena, not a single case of that complaint had taken place.

The undeserved reputation for salubrity, which St. Helena has hitherto enjoyed, has probably arisen from its being so little known, except to seamen, and others, who, arriving after long voyages, were enchanted to find themselves on shore anywhere, like Dampier's sailors; and who, during the few days they remained, found themselves relieved from scorbutic complaints by the

\* The loss of life amongst the crews of the following small ships, whilst they were on the St. Helena station, is also very great, *viz.* *twenty-four in the Mosquito*, complement one hundred men; sixteen in the *Racoon*, one hundred men; eleven in the *Leveret*, seventy-five men; fifteen in the *Griffon*, eighty-five men: besides numbers invalided, on account of the same complaints, and sent to England. It is well known to naval officers, that, unless in *very sickly stations*, small vessels are generally very healthy, frequently not losing a man in a year. I was myself surgeon of a sloop of war in the West Indies, in which ship not a single death occurred during twelve months, though exposed, for a considerable portion of that time, to the influence of the noxious climate of Surinam. I can vouch for the accuracy of the above statement, as to the deaths in the squadron.



use of the watercresses, with which it abounds, and from its population being small, and chiefly composed of natives, who, of course, did not suffer so much from the effects of the climate they were born in, as strangers. Until the arrival of the state prisoner, very few Europeans resided for a continuance upon the island; and I can assert, from personal observation, that the greatest number of those now there, even of the officers, have suffered attacks, more or less severe, either of dysentery or hepatitis; in which number, I regret to say, I was myself included; and that the opinion of the medical officers, who have had the best opportunity of forming a correct opinion from actual experience on the island, is, *that the climate is extremely unhealthy*; and, especially, that hepatitis and dysentery prevail to an extent, and with a severity, not to be paralleled even in India. In order to convince the public, that I neither am singular in my opinions, nor inclined to exaggerate facts, I beg leave to refer the reader to a medical inaugural Dissertation upon Dysentery and Hepatitis in St. Helena, composed for the degree of doctor in medicine in Trinity college, Dublin; a college surpassed by none in profound medical knowledge and learning, and I believe unequalled in the severity of the examination, which the candidate is obliged to undergo. The essay in question was written by Dr. Leigh, formerly surgeon to the second battalion of the 66th regiment\*.

\* As the author of this ingenious tract has passed some time in a tropical climate, I cannot help quoting one paragraph, in

At my departure from St. Helena, very little amelioration was produced in Napoleon's disease; and being aware, that he would not see any medical person imposed upon him by Sir Hudson Lowe, and suspecting, from the experience of the past, that means would be taken to prevent any person of his own choice from attending him, when I received Sir Hudson Lowe's order, on the 25th of July, to quit Longwood "*forthwith, without seeing any of my patients,*" I conceived, that humanity, the duties of the profession, and the actual state of my principal patient, then very ill, and requiring a daily administration of medicines, forbade a compliance with such a command. Proceeding to Napoleon's apartment, I communicated the circumstance of my being ordered to quit Longwood; gave my advice for a continuance of the remedies he was then taking, and the system which I thought he should pursue, recommended him to choose a surgeon from amongst some gentlemen whom I named, took my leave, and departed, after having furnished his *valet de chambre* with a supply of the medicine, which he had been taking for some weeks; which Sir Hudson Lowe characterized as "a breach of an order, and a refusal to acknow-

support of my own remarks, which are also the result of the most attentive observation. "Est nullus morbus perniciosior dysenteriâ. exercitibus in omnibus partibus orbis terrarum degentibus; sed in tropicis regionibus grassatur vi maximâ inter milites et alios ex Europâ: et videtur intimus nexus inter hanc et hepatidem existere, nam sæpè conjunguntur, et rarò accidit unum esse epidemicum sine altero." *Dissertatio Medica*, p. 15.



ledge the authority by which it was given." To this I shall merely remark, that having been employed in a civil capacity at St. Helena, in a similar manner to other naval officers in the employ of the Excise or the Customs, I was not subject to ordinary military discipline, nor bound to obey any arbitrary orders, especially when their execution would have involved a violation of humanity, and a palpable breach of Christian charity!

It well becomes the writer of these "FACTS," to say, that all the fabrications about pains in his chest, and swellings in his legs, are so many political stage tricks. If there were any doubts on the reports, which I felt it my bounden duty to make relative to Napoleon's state of health, why not adopt those measures, which could alone disprove my assertions? Those, who employed the libeller, will probably direct him to say the same of what occurred previous to Dr. Stokoe's recent arrival.

That Napoleon's objection to see Dr. Verling does not arise from the reasons assigned by this writer is amply proved by the circumstance of his not calling in that gentleman's aid on the late occasion, when visited by a serious, not to say alarming attack of apoplexy. Had Napoleon possessed no other motive, but prejudice arising from the *policy* so absurdly dwelt upon by the author, is it likely, that he would have sent five miles for a medical man, with the uncertainty, too, of that person's being permitted to obey the summons, while there was a physician in the same house?

As to the real cause of Napoleon's not seeing the medical advisers nominated by Sir Hudson Lowe, it will doubtless be amply elucidated on some future occasion; suffice it for me to say, that a *cause* exists, nor can it ever be removed, while those, who glory in their personal hatred of the fallen chief, are suffered to have the care of his person.

We are next informed, after the example of some well-known Editors, who are more than suspected of being *paid* for abusing the fallen Emperor, that "Bonaparte is no Roman." This wonderful discovery, upon which the changes have been rung to satiety, is followed by a *tirade*, wherein a simile is introduced, that seems to have been suggested by some event of the AUTHOR'S OWN LIFE. Napoleon's best claims to the character of true bravery are, as it happens, at least in the estimation of all good men, derived from his not having had recourse to the alternative of falling on his sword; for, however consoling such an act of cowardice might have been to a certain party in Europe, under whose banners this corrupt scribbler has drawn the dagger, it would neither have coincided with the views of him, who re-established religious worship in France, or manifested any degree of heroism in itself.

If there are a few solitary cases, in which the comparatively barbarous chiefs of antiquity gained a momentary eclat by self-destruction, how



many more resorted to it in obedience to an absurd philosophical dogma, long since happily exploded, and now so universally condemned by the common voice of civilized nations? Leaving the true estimate of Napoleon Bonaparte's character to history, to which it so properly belongs, I cannot help observing, that I am amongst the number of those, who applaud the late Ruler of France for not dishonouring himself, and gratifying the malignity of little minds, by flying in the face of Heaven, as recommended from so many quarters, deeply interested in his death.

With this opinion, which, I need scarcely say, is by no means singular, and a recollection of Lord Wellington's testimony, relative to the manner in which Napoleon conducted the battle of Waterloo, I should have left the quotation from Macrobius to some hero of a modern tragedy, and put an infinitely more nervous and manly expression into the fallen chief's mouth :

The coward sneaks to death, the brave live on!

While, however; I admire the constancy, with which Napoleon has borne his sufferings at St. Helena, where I witnessed them, together with those of his followers, it is proper to add, that I have every reason to believe he would not only view his approaching dissolution with pleasure, but consider it as one of the greatest blessings Providence could bestow. But when we recollect, that suicide is considered as a crime under all

circumstances, what would the *sane* part of mankind say, were Napoleon to give this final triumph to his enemies, by committing it in his present situation ?

To those, who have read the last **LETTERS OF COUNT DE LAS CASES\***, there can be nothing extraordinary in “ his (Napoleon’s) determined abstinence from riding :” a privilege, which has all the appearance of a boon from Sir Hudson Lowe. Whether it would be decorous for Napoleon to receive any thing like one at that officer’s hands, it is for the impartial reader to decide. Had Napoleon attached so much importance to life as the author wishes to make the public believe, there is little doubt but he would have embraced the above permission, under restrictions still more degrading than those already imposed.

“ The refusal to play his favourite game of billiards” furnishes the ground of another assertion, not less devoid of truth than the preceding ones. Having first assured the public, that Napoleon never refused to play billiards, I should add the fact of this room’s being the only decent or airy apartment in the house, and that it was in consequence converted into a study, where he used chiefly to dictate his Memoirs.

“ The gardens *teeming* with flowers” only exist in the **FICTITIOUS** view, which forms the frontis-

\* See page 76 of that highly interesting volume, and let the eloquent paragraph it contains be compared with the fourth and fifth articles of the Restrictions printed in the Appendix.



piece to these "FACTS." This is so embellished with parterres, trees, and shrubs, as to render the inscription underneath, of "*Longwood House, from the FLOWER GARDEN,*" very necessary indeed. To crown this barefaced attempt at imposture, the third plate represents a house, which was not in existence at the date of the author's alleged visit to St. Helena, *viz.* November, 1818; and that, according even to *his* mode of stating things, was only to be ready in the present month (April). It would have also been satisfactory to many of his readers, all of whom are called upon to examine these views, had they seen the original artist's name appended to them. If it should be afterwards found, that these "fairy scenes" are from the flattering pencil of a person, who holds a staff situation under Sir Hudson Lowe, and who dines occasionally at his table, the mystery of the inventive and picturesque, which forms so large a portion of them, is at once unravelled.

Most of my readers may perhaps recollect, that shortly after Napoleon was transferred to St. Helena, the ministerial papers were filled with pompous descriptions of the "*WOODEN PALACE,*" which they stated as having been sent out to St. Helena, by the British Government: very fine drawings of this imaginary edifice were, I have been told, even exhibited in the print shops. It is now high time to inform him, that, instead of the said splendid palace, immense logs of timber, great quantities of bricks, &c., and an enormous weight of

iron bars, for encircling the Captive, were sent there.

I am willing to admit, that Plate I, bound up by *mistake* I presume to face page 55 of this catch-penny, resembles Longwood, making due allowance for some extraneous embellishments and additions; but a more straggling, dreary, or comfortless looking barn it is scarcely possible to conceive. Its general appearance has been aptly compared to that of an old coat, outgrown by the wearer, and which had been eked out with shreds and patches of different coloured cloth, of a size sufficient to cover him\*.

In page 26 it is stated, that Sir Hudson Lowe immediately offered to hire for him (NAPOLEON), as a summer retreat, the delightful residence of Miss Mason. This offer was illusory, and merely made to have the appearance of doing something, while in reality nothing was done. (Similar to the offer of permitting fifty persons, the choice of Bonaparte, to enter Longwood.) The house was totally inadequate in point of size, containing only

\* That there is no exaggeration, in calling this wretched habitation a *barn*, will be seen by a reference to the note in page 34.

The Reader may be able to form a correct idea of the comfort and accommodation afforded by "Longwood House," when he is informed, that Napoleon's bed room is so small and low as to have rendered it necessary to cut off the dome upon the bedstead sent out by Government for his use before it could be put up in his bedchamber.



four rooms (two of which were in a state of ruin), into which Sir Hudson Lowe wanted to put Napoleon, his domestics, either Count Bertrand or Montholon's family, and the orderly officer, forming in the whole twenty-two persons. It was intimated to Sir Hudson Lowe, that, if he intended to build a new house, the situation upon which that of Miss Mason's was built might be desirable from the shade and water it afforded, neither of which existed at Longwood: to this, however, no attention was paid.

The above act of apparent civility, upon which the author lays considerable stress, reminds me of NAPOLEON'S allusion to Sir Hudson Lowe's favourite maxim, of striking with one hand while he caresses with the other\*! so forcibly illustrated by what occurred in 1816, when ministers, *anxious* to contribute to Napoleon's amusement, and probably aware of his partiality for the sports of the field, sent out two beautiful fowling pieces, of Forsyth's manufacture, which were duly forwarded to Longwood, with a *polite* note from his Excellency the Governor, in which this proof of solicitude on the part of Government was communicated for the "information of General Bonaparte." Soon after this act of *civility*, Sir Hudson Lowe prohibited Napoleon from *stirring off the high road*; so that, however well disposed, the Captive could only have made use of the guns

\* Vide LETTERS FROM COUNT DE LAS CASES, page 60.

for the destruction of the rats, which infest Longwood and its vicinity in such countless numbers\*.

\* The rats are so numerous at Longwood, and so fearless, that they often assemble, even in the day time, in flocks, to feed when the offal of the kitchen is thrown out, and have not unaptly been compared to broods of young chickens collected about the parent hen. The floors of Longwood were so perforated with their holes, as to resemble a sieve. Over these the servants had nailed pieces of tin, to keep them out. Napoleons' dining room was particularly infested with them; and it is a fact, that one of these noxious animals sprung out of his hat when he was going to put it on one day after dinner. The devastations committed by them were almost incredible, and latterly rat hunting became a favourite sport at Longwood. The chase was performed in the following manner: a little before dark the holes were uncovered, and entrance afforded to the game: soon after, five or six of the servants rushed in, with lights, sticks, and followed by dogs, covered the holes as fast as possible, and attacked the rats, who, when driven to desperation, made a vigorous defence, assailed the dogs, and sometimes even the men, by running up their legs and biting them. Sixteen were killed in this manner in less than half an hour in one of the rooms.

The wretched and ruinous state of the building, the roofs and ceilings of which are penetrated in every room by the rain; and the apartments being principally separated by wooden partitions, facilitates greatly the entrance of these reptiles. The French officers, and the ladies, have been repeatedly compelled, by the dropping in of the rain, to get up several times in the night, to shift their own and their children's beds to different parts of the rooms, in order to escape being deluged. This is partly caused by the bad construction of the roofs, which are in a great measure formed of boards and brown paper, smeared over with a composition of pitch and tar, which, when melted by the rays of the sun, runs off, and leaves open a number of chinks, through which the rain finds an easy admission. This



When the principle, upon which Napoleon's imprisonment is attempted to be justified (not to mention the extreme harshness of his treatment), is duly considered, is there any thing so very strange, as this writer would infer, in his manifesting a desire to get removed to a less unhealthy region? By the way of not soaring above the author's own level, and anxious to show that I can also resort to a simile, *si parva licet componere magnis*, might I be permitted to ask him, whether, if by any of those *fortuitous* events, which occasionally transfer some of our fashionable idlers from the *pavée* of Bond Street into one of the well known houses in Chancery Lane, or a still longer residence in the Borough, there would be any want of "*dignity*" in the youth thus incarcerated wishing to breathe the air of Highgate or Brighton?

———— anch'io son pittore!

Is it necessary for me to remind the author of these FACTS, that the comparison contained in page 28 is no less vulgar than unhappy? Who knows, however, but that some former recollections, and those not of a very agreeable nature, may have given rise to this allusion, which was resorted

may be pronounced irremediable, as every day, in which there are a few hours of sunshine, produces new leaks. My own room was very frequently inundated; but having been inured to wet and hardships, by several years' service on board ships of war, I was neither so susceptible of its inconvenience, nor of the injury to health likely to be caused by it, as the other inmates of Longwood.

to in the absence of a more felicitous illustration.

Amongst the numerous improbabilities with which the FACTS abound, that of Napoleon's followers being likely openly to speak of the system he is said to have so long adopted, admitting that there was any truth in the assertion, is pre-eminently conspicuous. None but those, who, in possessing no fidelity themselves, think all the rest of mankind equally selfish and ungenerous, would for a moment imagine, that the men, who followed the fallen Emperor into exile, and have since shared his sufferings, could be capable of betraying a circumstance, which, in compromising their integrity, must naturally militate against the chances of that system producing removal. As if the author were determined to fulfil the old adage, that one misrepresentation generally requires others to support it, Count Montholon is made to tell the *French Commissioner*, above all others, that the inmates of Longwood were determined not to be satisfied at St. Helena. "As it is not the *policy*," independently of there being no adequate motive assigned for such an extraordinary avowal on the Count's part, we must suppose him totally devoid of common sense, thus to expose himself, not to mention his old master, where no possible good and much harm might arise from the confession of such a resolution.

It is totally impossible for any thing to be farther from truth than the following assertion, con-



tained in page 30. Speaking of the manuscripts seized amongst the papers of Count de Las Cases, which are noticed in page 7 of his LETTERS, the author observes, "Bonaparte claimed them, and they were immediately sent to him; on the receipt of them, without opening, he threw them both into the fire, and commenced his task of re-writing them, with renewed vigour and activity."

Now from the cool and deliberate way in which the above statement is made, the most incredulous reader would doubtless be induced to pause before he rejected the veracity of so positive an assertion. Although the circumstance alluded to is extremely unimportant in itself, and the "effect" produced by throwing a bundle of manuscript in the fire would naturally have been confined to his confidential friends or domestics, and consequently lost upon the public, let the following incontrovertible state of the case be compared with the above quotation.

Sir Hudson Lowe detained the manuscripts for *seventeen days*, notwithstanding repeated requests to return them had been made, both through myself and by Count Bertrand. On receiving them, Napoleon said, that, as he had no guarantee against this violence of Sir Hudson Lowe, and did not know the moment he might come, under some pretence or another, and seize all the papers at Longwood; "a little more would have induced him to burn all his manuscripts," and I saw the

very volumes, which this vituperator of the female sex asserts were burned, a few weeks previous to my departure from Longwood.

With the exception of a worn out story from Joe Miller, two pages are, in this part of the author's "highly important information," devoted to retailing some observations on the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, in which, misrepresentation, scandal, and ribaldry, are combined in the writer's best style. Considering the professions with which his book is introduced to public notice, it was natural to suppose, that such insignificant tales as those would have been suffered to remain in merited obscurity, particularly as they tend in no degree to elucidate the great object of his publication. To what then are we to attribute this frequent disposition to vilify two inoffensive ladies, if not to a character and motives, which cannot fail to make this writer utterly contemptible in the eyes of his country, justly celebrated throughout the civilized world, for its respect and deference to the female sex? I have already had occasion to notice an attack on the children of Count Bertrand; and this is not the last time which I shall be called upon to trouble the reader with a few more words on a similar topic. These ebullitions of a *low* bred and rancorous mind are followed by a ridiculous story about the Countess Bertrand's borrowing *two shillings* from a soldier's wife; after which the author states, that the families at Longwood receive four hundred pounds sterling per



month, every article, either necessary, or of luxury, being furnished them. The inaccuracy of this assertion can only be equalled by that relative to “Bonaparte’s political sale of plate, with *ten thousand pounds at command*, besides the favourite necklace of the Princess Hortense.” The following is an account of the private expenditure of the families at Longwood.

	Francs.
For the clothing, and other personal expenses of five principals, and seven children.....	5,000
Wages for the French domestics.....	2,750
To provide against the insufficiency of the provisions, and the badness of their quality.....	3,328
Unforeseen expenses.....	650
	Total 11,728

This sum is distributed in the following manner: one thousand francs per month, for the toilet, and personal expenses of Napoleon; two thousand francs, for the clothing, washing, and other personal and private expenses of Count Bertrand’s family, consisting of two principals, four children, and seven domestics. The servants wages, who are chiefly English, amount to above three hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and the washing to about the same\* ; two thousand francs for General Montholon’s family, composed of two principals, three children, and six servants, who are chiefly English, and whose wages amount to about three hundred pounds per annum. That the reader

\* The price of washing at St. Helena bears an exact proportion to the enormous price of provisions.

may be able to form an idea of the enormous wages paid at St. Helena, I will subjoin a list of the amount paid to some of those, who were at Longwood when I left the island.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wages of the French servant left on the Island for that purpose by Baron Stürmer, per annum...	80	0	0
Adèle, his wife.....	50	0	0
Paid by Countess Bertrand to a soldier's wife, for nursing Adèle's child, 5 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per month.....	66	0	0
Mary Hall.....	50	0	0
Mrs. Davey.....	50	0	0
Cook.....	36	0	0
	<hr/>		
	<i>£</i> 332	0	0
	<hr/>		

#### MONTHOLON FAMILY.

Mrs. M <sup>c</sup> Grath, nurse, 6 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per month.....	78	0	0
Mrs. Hitchcock.....	60	0	0
Josephine.....	60	0	0
Frank, besides clothing and washing.....	50	0	0
	<hr/>		
	<i>£</i> 248	0	0
	<hr/>		

A statement, containing an account of the items of the sum intended to provide against the insufficiency of the provisions, amounting to three thousand three hundred and twenty-eight francs, was taken by Major Gorrequer to Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 8th of April, 1818, of which the following is a copy; showing the expenditure for the tables at Longwood at that period, over and above the government allowance, which had been considerably increased after Lord Holland's motion in the House of Peers had been made known in St. Helena.



	Francs.
Meat, fifteen roasting joints.....	360
Thirty fowls.....	212
Sixty pounds of butter.....	200
Forty-five of lard.....	54
Maccaroni, vermicelli, &c.....	120
Coffee.....	100
One cwt. of sugar.....	120
Spices of different kinds, vinegar.....	150
Six hams, at seventy-two francs each, one with another.	432
Thirty bottles of oil.....	200
Fifteen bottles of olives.....	90
Fifteen ditto of capers or girkins.....	90
Vegetables, one with another.....	600
Twelve bottles of syrups, orange flower water, es- sences, and other trifling expenses.....	200
Purchases of crockery, glass ware, &c., to keep up the stock.....	200
Gratifications, and other trifling expenses.....	200
Total.....	3328

Notwithstanding the enormous amount of the wages I have just mentioned, it was frequently with the greatest difficulty that I have been able to procure a nurse, or a servant of any description, for the inhabitants of Longwood; such was the aversion which they felt to enter as servants in what they called a gaol, that I have been often obliged to make every possible interest with the commanding officers and others, and their ladies, to prevail on some of the *soldiers' wives* to come to Longwood as nurses (as a favour) at such a salary as seven pounds ten shillings per month\*, a bottle of porter daily, and, what doubtless will as-

\* Madame Montholon was twice compelled to give wages to this amount.

tonish English mothers, *a bottle of wine daily!* washing paid, &c. This condition, however, was a *sine qua non*, and circumstances rendered a compliance with it necessary, both with respect to the nurses, and all the other domestics.

Instead of having *ten thousand pounds at command*, money was so scarce at Longwood (until Count Las Cases made over four thousand pounds to Count Bertrand in December, 1816) that the latter has been so reduced, as to be glad to accept the loan of so small a sum as twenty-five pounds from myself. Whilst I was in St. Helena, the discounting of the bills, which Bertrand drew, was frequently retarded by Sir Hudson Lowe, for two months at a time. This might probably have been intended to operate upon the French domestics, already so disgusted by the restrictions, the isolated state in which they were placed, secluded from society, and the badness of the climate, in order to render them still more so by the want of their wages, and thus compel them to abandon their master.

This inference is greatly strengthened by what has taken place since my departure. I have been credibly informed, and have *seen official documents* to prove, that since November, 1818, Sir Hudson Lowe has given orders, that no more bills of exchange should be discounted for the French, alledging as a pretext for such conduct, that they must wait until he receives intimation from England, that the last bill drawn by them has been honoured, that is to say, *for five months*. Now it is well known, that, although momentary difficulties



have arisen in the payment of some of them, yet they have been ultimately paid by Count Las Cases, and that their future payment has been also guaranteed to Messrs. Baring and Co., by one of *the first bankers* in Frankfort. On the 13th of January, 1819, a demand was made by General Montholon, through Captain Nichols, the orderly officer at Longwood, to Sir Hudson Lowe, 1st. Either that Mr. Ibbetson, the commissary general, should be allowed to discount their bills monthly, as he had been in the habit of doing since April, 1818; or that, according to Lord Bathurst's letter, some commercial house should be permitted to communicate with them, and to discount their bills of exchange. 2d. Or that the English Government, pursuant to the engagements which it had made, should provide with their own money for the expenses already described. 3d. That if the Governor refuses to comply with these propositions, he may authorize some merchant to come to Longwood to purchase the remains of the plate belonging to Napoleon. *None of these proposals* have been complied with, and the distress produced by Sir Hudson Lowe's refusal has been excessive. To shut up families, composed of persons advanced in life, of ladies, and young children, in a prison, upon an island near six thousand miles from their friends; to deprive them of the means of obtaining their own money, in order to provide for their wants; to refuse to supply those wants, either in kind, or by lending money to purchase them; and

to deny the prisoners permission to sell their valuables to procure it, is, I believe, without a parallel in the history of England, or of any other nation in the world!

It was doubtless a similar-line of policy that dictated the taking away from Mr. Barber, of the Cambridge store ship, in February, 1818, two portraits of Young Napoleon, which he had brought out to sell to the father; meanly pretending, that the reason he took them was, "to send them himself to Bonaparte," but in reality to prevent a *father's* having an opportunity of retracing the lineaments of an only and a beloved *son!* *for the pictures never reached Longwood!*

The story of the knee buckles, Mr. Warden, and General Gourgand, is so little "germane to the matter," as our author observes in the beginning of his book, and withal so indicative of the mountain in labour, that the reader will, no doubt, gladly dispense with any comment upon such superlative *niaiseries*. It is, besides, a curious fact, that cowards, when they are not personally concerned, always require more to be done by others, than brave men would under similar circumstances.

Without having been able to discover quite so much of Napoleon's peculiarities as the author, I am fully justified in flatly contradicting his assertion about the wine glasses. This novel sort of amusement appears more likely to have been adopted at some of the Bacchanalian orgies at Plantation House. It is well known, that the



French do not drink wine after dinner; that Bonaparte is particularly temperate; and that every thing is removed from the table in less than *half an hour*, from the time of his sitting down. How Sir Hudson Lowe could be informed of Napoleon's actions while alone; it is for the author, who is doubtless in the Lieutenant General's confidence, to explain.

Page 36 is ushered in with another tissue of misrepresentation, not less palpable than any other contained in the whole compilation. In the first place, the cook did not go to Longwood to complain, he went (contrary to directions from General Montholon) to demand from Sir Hudson Lowe, whether a letter from Count Bertrand to Cardinal Fesch, containing a request that another cook might be sent out to St. Helena (as his own health, and that of his assistant, had been so much impaired by the climate as to render any farther residence in it dangerous for them) had been forwarded, and when his successor might be expected. Having taken this step upon himself, in direct opposition to the orders he had received, and having also, after his interview with Sir Hudson Lowe, been guilty of some impertinence to General Montholon, he was dismissed from his situation, but remained some days at Longwood, without however officiating in his former employment of cook.

The circumstance relative to Albey is precisely as follows: happening to be at Longwood when he came there, I know, that Napoleon never saw him; and so far from the question described by

the author having been asked, General Montholon, the only officer of Napoleon's suite, who saw him, was with difficulty made to understand what he said, as the man could speak nothing but German, and some broken English; which, together with Albey's not wishing to be forced away against his will, from his master, Baron Stürmer, was the reason of his not being hired. The closing anecdote, about Lieutenant Colonel Dodgin, is equally true. Will the writer of these anecdotes inform the public, what English regiments served against *Bonaparte* in Egypt\*?

In the author's zeal to serve his patrons, he frequently "o'ersteps the modesty of nature," by paying compliments, which, I venture to assert, his friends would very willingly dispense with; of this description is the reply, for which he gives Lieutenant Colonel Dodgin credit. Had there been a particle of truth in the expression, it was one to which no English gentleman could have given utterance, without violating the rules of humanity and decorum.

In page 45 the author observes, after some remarks about the commissioners appointed to reside in St. Helena by the allied powers, that "they are shut out by his (Napoleon's) whim and sulkiness, from the opportunity of seeing the only person in the island they have any thing to do with." In putting forth this *liberal* assertion, why does the writer conceal, that Napoleon had repeatedly

\* The reader need not be told, that Napoleon left that country before our army landed at Alexandria.



offered to receive the commissioners as private individuals, in the same manner as he had received other visitors? and that he caused Sir Hudson Lowe to be informed, that he would not receive his *own son* in his presence. Who but such a reasoner as this could express any surprise at the fallen Emperor's not recognizing the official capacity of persons, who were sent out to increase the number of his keepers? On the other hand, I perfectly agree with the author, that their presence is not only "a matter of perfect indifference," but extremely to be regretted, inasmuch as that, by witnessing the aggravated vexations practised towards the inmates of Longwood, not to mention the unprecedented system established on the island generally, our national character on the Continent cannot fail to have experienced great additional obloquy; for it is not to be imagined that these commissioners could remain silent at what they saw passing daily before their eyes, or omit giving a minute account of it to their respective courts. Viewing the subject in this light, the sooner they are withdrawn the better.

To say that the influence of Count Bertrand over Napoleon is the only cause of the latter's not cultivating an intimacy with the "said commissioners," is worthy of the writer, and as great an absurdity as he has uttered. If a degree of political consistency, and persevering fidelity, almost unexampled in modern times, gives the Count a claim to the hatred of such a writer as the author of these "FACTS," no man on earth is more justly

entitled to it. I was not therefore by any means surprised at seeing the scurrilous manner in which the Count's name is introduced to public notice : and as the author seems to attach great importance to this part of his publication, particularly by the pains taken to explain what occurred between him and Colonel Lyster, "*the old and valued acquaintance of Sir Hudson Lowe,*" I hope to be excused for dwelling somewhat longer on the circumstances of that transaction, than might have been otherwise justifiable. Before I proceed to state the real nature of the case, it may be as well to observe, in reply to the author's misrepresentation, "that no officer, having business to transact with him (Count Bertrand), will do it, unless in the presence of a third person," that this is a precaution, which has been adopted, from necessity, with the inmates of another residence besides Longwood. There is an officer of high rank in St. Helena, whose character for "point black denials of conversation, hardly dry on the lip," and verbal orders, is so palpably notorious, as to have obliged another officer under his command to note down his orders, together with the time, place, and persons present, which, upon denial shortly after, were shown to him.

On the 20th of July, 1818, Lieutenant Colonel Lyster, who formerly belonged to the same regiment with Sir Hudson Lowe, and who now holds the temporary and local rank of lieutenant colonel, by virtue of his sinecure office of inspector of militia, with a salary of one thousand pounds per annum,



was sent by Sir Hudson Lowe as orderly officer to Longwood: he was accompanied by a Lieutenant Jackson of the staff corps, who had been previously employed as the *surveillant* of General Gourgaud, from the time of the latter's leaving Longwood, until he finally quitted the island. Lieutenant Colonel Lyster was sent, by directions of the Adjutant General, Sir Thomas Reade, to Longwood, with orders to take possession, in my *absence*, of the quarters, which had been until then allotted for the orderly officer and surgeon; which he executed by seizing upon (when I was not present, and without having given any previous intimation) the common mess and store rooms, mess articles, all which had been furnished by his Majesty's Government for the joint mess of the orderly officer and surgeon. On my arrival at Longwood, I found his servants busily employed in removing my effects out of doors; the lieutenant colonel concluded his proceedings of that day, by unequivocally avowing the nature, both of his own and Lieutenant Jackson's employment, to General Montholon; to whom he observed, when asked if there were two orderly officers, and for what purpose Lieutenant Jackson was sent to Longwood? "*Parceque quatre yeux sont mieux que deux.*" His outrageous conduct with regard to myself compelled me to send him the following letter:—

Longwood, 21st July, 1818.

SIR;

Having reflected upon the unprecedented and outrageous conduct, which was put in

execution toward me yesterday, I feel necessitated to make the following observations upon it.

On my return from the town, where I had received a subpœna to attend as a witness, I found that you, during my absence, had appropriated to yourself, *without any previous intimation or warning having been given to me*, not only the rooms usually occupied by your predecessor, Captain Blakeney, but the common mess room, and the store room of the orderly officer and surgeon; and as only such articles of plate, glass, &c., as were my private property (the detention of which would, by the laws, subject you to a criminal prosecution), have been sent to me, I am bound to conclude, that a similar seizure has been made of the mess articles furnished by his Majesty's Government, for the orderly officer and surgeon at Longwood. This proceeding was followed by an intimation, that your intention was not to mess with me, as your three predecessors had done.

The customary rules of politeness and good breeding subsisting between gentlemen would (were I a person in an inferior, and even in a low situation, instead of being, as I am, a British officer, as well as yourself) have suggested to a person, possessing the feelings of a gentleman, the propriety of giving a previous intimation to me of such intentions, before precipitately dispossessing me of my share of the mess and store rooms, &c. &c., and thereby obliging me to return, at an unseasonable hour, to town, in order to procure a dinner.

Such extraordinary and indelicate proceedings



astonish me; and I beg to know (prior to coming to any final determination), whether they have been caused by a blind obedience to a superior authority, or were the effects of your own proper judgment and impulse.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon, Royal Navy.

*Lieut. Colonel Lyster, Longwood.*

#### REPLY.

Longwood, July 21st.

SIR;

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of this morning's date. As it contains a great variety of matter, shall proceed to answer it in the *briefest* manner possible.

You commence by saying, that, during your absence, I appropriated to myself the mess room, &c. &c., without giving you any previous notice. Now altho' your language in the remaining part of the paragraph is extremely violent, and would well justify my refusal to answer it; yet to show how much you misconceived this business, I shall just give a simple detail of the true state of the case.—In the first place (previous to my leaving James' Town), I was desired by the Adj' Gen<sup>l</sup> to require Captain Blakeney to deliver over to me all the rooms belonging to the orderly officer's quarters, stationed at Longwood. On my arrival here, I requested he would point them out to me, which he did, and they are those which I at present occupy, together with

the *stoore room* adjoining. Capt'n Blakeney then called your servant, and desired him to take your things away. A short time after this, Lieutenant Jackson ask'd your man (without my knowledge) to lend a few things we were in want of, as our own baggage had not arrived. From this transaction you found the indelicate insinuation, that I had laid myself open to a prosecution at law.—In respect to the mess you talk of, I never knew there was one establish'd here; on the contrary, I understood Capt'n Blakeney dined with his reg't; but even if there had, surely I'm not accountable to any man, why I prefer keeping a table to myself.—

I now come to your last paragraph, in which you ask, whether my conduct has been caused by a blind obedience to a superior *authory*, or the effect of my own judgment.

I must distinctly state, that I should *have the strongest objections to mess with an officer, who lies so heavily under the displeasure of the Governor*, as I should be liable to hear observations, which would inevitably destroy all the pleasures of social intercourse\*.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) T. LYSTER,

Lieutenant Colonel.

B. O'Meara, Esq.

To the equivocation displayed in the above epistle, I answered as follows:—

\* I shall make no apology to the Lieutenant Colonel for having preserved *his* orthography, *verbatim*.



Longwood, 22d July, 1818.

SIR ;

As you cannot deny the circumstance of your having, in my absence, seized upon the common mess and store rooms for the orderly officer and surgeon, without having given me any previous intimation, you endeavour to *slur* it over by stating, that you, by directions of the Adjutant General, obtained possession of all the orderly officer's quarters; and you conclude your second paragraph by making an assertion, which, for effrontery, is, I believe, until now, without a parallel, *even in St. Helena; viz.* "that you never knew there was such a mess established here\*."

This is about as correct as your wilful misconstruction of a sentence in my letter, in which you assert, that "I found the indelicate insinuation, that you had laid yourself open to a prosecution at law." I said, that had you detained the articles of private property, which were not detained, and which had been *selected* out, and were the *only* objects sent to me, such conduct would have laid you open to a criminal prosecution; which is directly contrary to the misrepresentation made of it by you.

As to living at the same table with *you*, Sir, I never coveted it; I merely wanted to receive, what I had a right to expect, and what I did *not* expe-

\* There were very few officers in St. Helena, who had not dined at the mess, which the Lieutenant Colonel pretended he did not know had existed. His coadjutor, Lieutenant Jackson, had repeatedly dined there.

rience from you, *viz.* *gentlemanlike treatment!*  
 With respect to the insinuations, with which you  
 conclude your letter, I must remark, that, before  
 hazarding them, you ought to have had some  
 basis whereupon to ground them.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
 Surgeon, R. N.

*To Lieutenant Colonel Lyster, Longwood.*

REPLY.

Longwood, July 23d.

SIR ;

Your letter of yesterday's date is  
 worded in so very insolent and ungentlemanlike  
 language, that I do not think it worthy of an  
 answer, especially as I am placed here as supe-  
 rior officer, in the discharge of a most important  
 duty.

I therefore feel myself imperiously call'd upon  
 to lay your two letters before his Excellency the  
 Governor, with my answer.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

T. LYSTER.

Lieutenant Colonel.

*To B. O'Meara, Esq.*

On the same day, Lieutenant Colonel Lyster  
 gave orders to the officers of the guard to examine  
 minutely every bundle, packet, or parcel, entering  
 or going out of Longwood, not excepting even the  
 wearing apparel of the ladies ; giving as a reason,



that, if this were not done, “peradventure Bonaparte might be able to get some books;” and declaring, “that he wished him (Bonaparte) in the possession of the Devil!” His intruding, uninvited, upon Madame Montholon, and the declaration which he made there, of his intention to spend a great part of his time in their house, came rather *mal apropos*, after his avowal of “*quatre yeux sont mieux que deux.*” On the 22d, the following protest against the farther residence of this gentleman at Longwood, was, pursuant to the *orders of Napoleon*, written by Count Bertrand, and addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Longwood, ce 22 Juillet, 1818.

MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR ;

Ma lettre datée du 20, était une réponse à la lettre que vous m’avez fait l’honneur de m’écrire le 16 de ce mois. Celle-ci est une réponse à votre lettre du 12, et a celle datée du 21. Si vous ne voulez pas, Monsieur, qu’on vous réponde, n’écrivez pas.

1°. L’outrage que vous avez fait faire à l’Empereur par son jardinier-domestique de sa maison, il y a trois mois, a été fait sous ses propres yeux. Il la vu, les témoignages de qui que ce soit sont donc insignifiants, les certificats que vous avez envoyés ne contredisent pas le fait. Depuis, ce jardinier a exercé plusieurs fois le même ministère à la porte de la maison. Nier le fait ce n’est pas donner l’assurance que cela n’aura plus lieu, mais c’est dire au contraire que cela aura encore lieu.

2°. L'empêchement que vous avez mis par vos insinuations et vos ordres secrets à ce que Mr. Stockoe, chirurgien du Conquerant, assistât l'Empereur dans sa maladie et ce pour lui imposer Mr. Baxter, qui a été votre chirurgien, quand vous commandiez ce bataillon Italien, et qui depuis a assisté à la rédaction de faux bulletins, les persécutions que vous avez fait et que vous faites tous les jours contre le Docteur O'Meara, pour l'obliger à s'en aller ; l'état de foiblesse, de maladie de l'Empereur suite de vos mauvaises procédés, ne justifient que trop les assertions contenues dans mes lettres.

3°. Mr. Lyster, que vous imposez comme officier d'ordonnance, qui n'est plus au service, qui n'a de commission que pour commander les milices, qui ne fait pas partie de votre armée Anglaise, qui n'appartient à aucun corps, qui est votre créature depuis grand nombres d'années et dans votre dépendance absolue, qui signera tout ce que vous lui dicterez, s'imaginera tout ce que vous voudrez, dira tout ce qu'il vous plaira, n'aura d'autre volonté et d'autre conscience que la vôtre, c'est à dire, celle d'un ennemi déclaré, vous est plus commode sans doute qu'une honnêteté reconnue d'un capitaine que tient à un corps, a une fortune et a une conscience à lui.

Au nom de l'Empereur Napoleon, je suis chargé de protester.

1°. Contre toute violation de l'enceinte par des domestiques ouvriers ou autres que vous revetiriez secrètement de l'autorité publique.



2° Contre les insultes que seraient faites au Docteur O'Meara, pour l'obliger à s'en aller d'ici, et contre les empêchements publics ou secrets que vous avez mis ou que vous mettriez à ce que Napoléon se fit assister dans sa maladie comme consultant, par l'officier de santé en qui il aurait confiance, accredité au service de sa Majesté Britannique, ou reconnu pour exercer publiquement ses fonctions dans l'isle.

3° Contre les témoignages, les rapports, les écrits de l'officier des milices Lyster, qui n'est placé à Longwood, que pour être un instrument de haine et de vengeance.

Je demande que ma lettre du 20, et celle-ci soient mises sous les yeux de votre Gouvernement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c. &c.

(Signé) LE COMTE BERTRAND\*.

*Au Gouverneur Sir Hudson Lowe.*

\* TRANSLATION.

Longwood, 22d of July, 1818.

SIR;

My letter, dated the 20th, was an answer to the letter, which you did me the honour to write to me on the 16th instant; the present is in reply to your letter of the 12th, and to that dated the 21st. If, Sir, you do not wish answers, cease to write.

1st. The insult you caused to be shown the Emperor, by his gardener, one of his domestic servants, three months ago, took place under his own eyes; he witnessed it himself; the evidence of any body else, therefore, is insignificant. The certificates you have sent do not contradict the fact. Since then the same gardener has frequently exercised the same duty at the door of the house. To deny the fact, is not giving an assurance

On receiving the above, Sir Hudson Lowe sent for Colonel Lyster, to whom he *showed* Count Bertrand's letter. The Colonel, on his return to Longwood, wrote the following one to the Count, which was delivered to him by the hands of Lieutenant Jackson :—

that it shall not be repeated; but, on the contrary, shows that it will.

2d. The hindrance you have occasioned, by your insinuations, and your secret orders to the surgeon of the Conqueror, for Mr. Stockoe's assisting the Emperor in his disorder, with the view of imposing upon him Mr. Baxter, who was your surgeon, when you commanded that Italian corps, and who has since had the drawing up of false bulletins; the persecution you have exercised, and daily exercise, towards Doctor O'Meara, to oblige him to leave the Emperor; the latter's debility and disorder, the result of your harsh proceedings; but too strongly justify the assertions contained in my letters.

3d. Mr. Lyster, whom you imposed on us as orderly officer, who is no longer in the service, and who holds no other commission than a command in the militia; a person, who forms no part of the English army; who belongs to no corps; who has been your creature for many years, and is altogether dependent upon you; who will sign whatever you dictate, or conceive whatever you require; will say whatever you please, having no other will, no other conscience, than yours; that is to say, that of an avowed enemy; is more convenient to you, no doubt, than the acknowledged probity of a captain, who belongs to a regular regiment, and who has to lose a reputation and a conscience of his own.

In the name of the Emperor Napoleon, I am directed to protest;—

1st. Against all violation of the boundary by the domestics, workmen, or others, whom you may secretly clothe with the garb of public authority.



Longwood, 24th July, 1818.

SIR ;

I have seen a letter of yours, addressed to his Excellency the Governor, in which you take the liberty of vilifying my character, in the most *false, infamous*, and wanton manner. You say, Sir, that I am his creature, ready to execute any order, be it ever so atrocious. This can only be the invention of your own mind, as it is impossible for you to know any thing of the sentiments which occupy my breast. Were I disposed to retaliate on *the sycophant of the far-famed Corsican*, Europe knows *too well* I have most ample grounds for it; but I disdain such conduct. I shall, therefore, only briefly say, that if you have the smallest spark remaining of that nice sense of honour (for which your nation is so justly celebrated), you cannot refuse to give the satisfaction of a gentleman

2d. Against the injuries done to Dr. O'Meara, to oblige him to leave this place; and against the obstructions, open or covert, which you have occasioned, or may occasion, to prevent Napoleon's being assisted in his disorder with the advice and opinion of a medical practitioner, in whom he may have confidence; accredited to that service by his Britannic Majesty, or admitted publicly to exercise his functions in the island.

3d. Against the testimony, reports, and writings of the militia officer, Lyster, who is only stationed at Longwood as an instrument of hatred and vengeance.

I demand, that my letter of the 20th, and the present one, be laid before your Government.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

To Governor Sir Hudson Lowe.

to an officer, who has served his country for these last thirty-four years, with zeal and fidelity. Should you decline this, I shall be obliged to publish you to the world as the *vilest coward*, as well as the basest calumniator. I pledge my honour, that the Governor has not the slightest idea of the step I have taken, nor any other person, but the friend employed in delivering this letter. If you have no pistols, I can procure them, and the business may be settled with the utmost secrecy, at such time and place as you may wish to appoint.

I remain, Sir, your's, &c.

T. LYSTER,

Lieut. Colonel, B. M. Service.

To Count Bertrand, &c. &c. &c.

Longwood.

On the next morning, a still more opprobrious letter was written by Lieutenant Colonel Lyster to Count Bertrand, and on the 25th of July that gentleman was removed from Longwood; as will appear from the following letters:—

Longwood, ce 25 Juillet, 1818.

MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR ;

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer une lettre que je reçois\*.

Ce vieillard me parait en demence.

\* A copy of Lieutenant Colonel Lyster's letter.



Il ne peut avoir connaissance de ma correspondance officielle que par vos ordres.

Je ne lui répons ni le lui repondrai.

Il n'est qu'un mandataire, et, si son principal, officier général, veut me demander raison, je suis pret à lui faire honneur.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c.

(Signé) LE COMTE BERTRAND\*.

*A Monsieur le Lieut. General*

*Sir Hudson Lowe,*

Plantation House, July 23, 1818.

SIR ;

I have this day received your letter of yesterday's date, and feel extremely concerned, that Lieutenant Colonel Lyster *should have so far given way to the impulse of his wounded feelings,* as to have addressed such a letter to you, as that, of which you have sent me the copy.

\* TRANSLATION.

Longwood, July 25, 1818.

SIR;

I have the honour to send you a letter, which I have received. This old man appears to be out of his senses.

He cannot be acquainted with my official correspondence, except by your orders.

I have not answered him, nor shall I answer him. He is merely a second: AND SHOULD HIS PRINCIPAL, BEING A GENERAL OFFICER, REQUIRE ME TO EXPLAIN, I AM READY TO MEET HIM.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

*To Lieutenant General Sir Hudson Lowe.*

At the same time, I beg to observe, *that I do not feel myself bound to conceal from the knowledge of any British officer employed in a situation of such important trust, any defamatory imputation, which may be endeavoured to be cast upon him in the execution of it; nor can I avoid considering you as responsible for any consequence, that may result from hazarding such injurious reflections as you have done, particularly when writing in your own name\**. After being repeatedly informed, I do not consider a letter addressed to me in that form as official.

I beg nevertheless to express my earnest hope, that the letter you have received may, from its irritating tendency, not have been made known to the person on whom you are attending; and if it should have been communicated, that you will assure him of my extreme displeasure at its having been transmitted.

Lieutenant Colonel Lyster will, in consequence, be withdrawn from any further duty at Longwood.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble Servant,

(Signed) H. LOWE.

To Lieutenant General Count Bertrand,

Longwood.

\* Count Bertrand's letter specifically says, "Au nom de l'Empereur."



When, in April, 1818, I wrote a letter to Count Bertrand, simply announcing my resignation and motives, it was pronounced by Sir Hudson Lowe, in his judicial capacity of Governor, as highly criminal and punishable: in this instance, however, a most indecent provocation to commit murder, because given by two officers employed by himself on a most delicate service, is not only tolerated, but attempted to be extenuated by him; and I trust, that the reader need scarcely be requested to compare the conduct manifested by Lieutenant Colonel Lyster, in such an attack upon a *prisoner*, with the forbearance displayed by the same individual a few hours before: *then*, less fastidious, his duty *imperiously* required him to appeal to his protector, Sir Hudson Lowe.

It is unnecessary for me to make any comment on the charge of cowardice, preferred against Count Bertrand, as it is sufficiently refuted by his letter of the 25th of July (cautiously concealed by the author of the "FACTS"), wherein the Governor is explicitly informed of the Count's readiness to give satisfaction to the *principal*, while he declines having any communication with an officer, whom he regarded as a mere instrument.

Since my removal from St. Helena I have been credibly informed, not by an anonymous author, that Sir Hudson Lowe caused the officers of the 66th regiment to be assembled by Brigadier General Sir George Bingham, who was *ordered* to prohibit them from speaking to Count Bertrand, and the

pretext alleged was, “ *that the Count had refused to accept of a challenge.*” Sir Hudson Lowe is civil governor of St. Helena, and sits as judge at the quarter sessions, which are regularly held in that island; and he is also vested with the power of remitting or of carrying into execution sentences of death, pronounced by himself in his judicial capacity. Although the Council of St. Helena is composed of the Governor and two other members, still, by the existing constitution of the colony, if the *two* last differ in opinion with the Governor, and vote against him, his single vote carries the point in discussion; and the only resource left for them is the privilege of being permitted to enter a dissent upon the records, which, however, has no influence upon the judgment pronounced. It is for the public to decide, whether Sir Hudson Lowe (whose most bounden duty it was, as civil governor and chief justice of St. Helena, to prevent any breach of the peace, or to punish the violators of it), in his conduct towards Count Bertrand, was actuated by those upright principles of justice and impartiality, which ought to govern a *judge*; or whether it was dictated by a spirit of unnecessary hostility against an old and highly respected soldier, whose body is covered with the scars received during a service of thirty years for his country, and who, when Sir Hudson Lowe was a subordinate officer attached to Blucher’s army, was a lieutenant general, and *commanded* the army opposed to the Prussian leader.



In page 47, and the two following, we are favoured with a long detail, to prove the inaccuracy of a statement, which appeared in the public papers, relative to the breaking up of a carriage, sent from the Cape of Good Hope for Count Bertrand. Amidst the many stubborn facts and unanswerable statements, which have been made since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe to the government of St. Helena, no wonder if the opportunity thus afforded should have been taken ample advantage of; and in congratulating the author on his solitary triumph, it will be for the public to judge, whether, after the open acknowledgment of Count Bertrand to the orderly officer at Longwood, thanking Sir Thomas Reade for "his attention," there is a shadow of probability of such a story having ever emanated from that place\*.

If any thing were wanting to excite public scorn, the author could not fail doing so by the manner in which he alludes to the Countess Bertrand in page 49. I do not complain of such repeated efforts to vilify and degrade the sex, for, in the estimation of Englishmen, they return with tenfold weight on the calumniator's own head. It is, however, no more than a common act of justice to say, that the assertions, with respect to the above lady, are no less foreign to truth than

\* I find, upon farther inquiry, that the letter containing the information was brought home in the Ceres merchantman, and that the captain of that vessel repeated the same story, as if he had witnessed the transaction.

disgraceful to their author. When I add, that, in addition to Madame Bertrand's being very generally considered as an uncommonly fine woman, her address and manners are of the most elegant and fascinating description, what will the reader think of a writer, who could hazard the expression to which I have been thus called upon to reply?

The nature of her application to Dr. Verling, if ever induced to make one, which I disbelieve *in toto*, will be, no doubt, fully explained on some future occasion.

“The total indifference of all the inhabitants, as to Bonaparte's *movements* or pursuits,” could, if the statement contained a particle of truth, be very easily accounted for. As to his *movements*: since Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival, Napoleon has never been out of Longwood grounds, except once, on or about the 4th of May, 1816. Under such circumstances, what portion of the inhabitants was there in a condition to make any observation on his “*movements*?” The reason for his name not being mentioned may be traced to the following declaration of Sir Thomas Reade, *viz.* “that no person *had any business* to mention *Bonaparte's name*, or to make him a subject of conversation, much less *presume* to pass their observations upon any restrictions, which the Governor might think proper to inflict upon him, as he (Bonaparte) *was outlawed* by the act of Congress; and that no person had any business to speak to any of his followers, who, by their own consent, were sub-



jected to the same restrictions as him." The effect of such a declaration, coming, as it did, from a Governor, whose power is almost unlimited, may be readily conceived, even by those who have only heard how *that power* has been executed, through the public papers and official communications.

When the *tirade* in page 52, and its accompanying quotation from J. B. Rousseau, are compared with the author's declaration about VERACITY in page 3, and the following passage, which is introduced immediately after the above eloquent *morceau* — "but I entered St. Helena: I commenced my notes on what I saw; influenced, prepossessed in favour of insulted, fallen greatness, and pitying Napoleon" — it is scarcely possible for the dispassionate reader to avoid applying one of this writer's own mottos to such tergiversation.

D'un mensonge aussi noir justement irrité  
Je devrois faire ici parler la vérité!

Having devoted a few pages to abusing the "collection of memoranda," to which Sir Thomas Reade's letter to Count Bertrand gave rise, and dwelt with peculiar emphasis on his humanity, tenderness, and *love of truth*, the author renews his favourite topic, by once more launching out in praise of the comforts and situation of Longwood. These panegyrics are accompanied by a view, so beautified and embellished, that it has excited both laughter and ridicule on the part of several competent judges, whose opinions I made a point of

asking on the subject. Here I beg leave to repeat, that the building, represented in the above view, *was not in existence* at the time he left St. Helena, when the foundation had been only just laid; and, like others who labour in the same *honourable* vocation, by confounding dates and occurrences, he taxes Napoleon with a want of truth, in asserting, that the new house was not commenced, although the memoranda, to which he alludes, were written on the 25th of April, 1818; and on my departure from St. Helena, on the 2d of August following, not a stone of the foundation had been laid.

“Bonaparte’s favourite valet,” according to the author, invariably sleeps in an inner closet. Now this is another misrepresentation, as the person alluded to, Marchand, never sleeps there. St. Denis and Novarre, second valets de chambre, alternately keep watch in a hall leading from the bath room to the common passage of the house, and Marchand sleeps in an attic.

In page 59, line 1, Sir Hudson Lowe’s apologist commences his attack upon me by a direct falsehood. He asserts, that I was “the volunteer surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, who accompanied Bonaparte to St. Helena;” when the fact is, that the appointment was not of my own seeking, but accepted in consequence of advice to that effect from the Right Honourable Admiral Lord Keith, whose words, when he sent for and recommended me to comply with Count Bertrand’s application for that purpose, were, “It is not in my power to order you to ac-



cept of it, as is out of the naval service, and is a business altogether extraordinary, and must be voluntary on your part; but I, as commander in chief, will authorize you to accept of it, and I advise you most strongly to do so; as I am convinced the Government will be obliged to you, and it is a situation, which may be held with propriety and honour by an Englishman."

In the next page this falsehood is followed by another, stating, that I had said, a few days subsequent to the arrival of the Northumberland at St. Helena, in presence of a lady named Knipe, "that Napoleon was an oppressed man, and that it was the duty of every body to assist him." To refute this, it is enough to say, that, at the time alluded to by this slanderer, *Sir Hudson Lowe had not arrived at St. Helena.*

The calumnious insinuations and assertions, contained in the following pages, viz. 61 to 62 inclusive, have reluctantly compelled me to lay before the public some particulars of my early life, which, under any other circumstances, might be considered as obtrusive and presumptuous in so humble an individual.

I am the son of an old, and, I believe, highly respected officer, who served his Majesty for a number of years in the 29th regiment, along with the present Earl of Harrington, in North America. He was honoured with a special mark of royal favour by his present Majesty, who was graci-

ously pleased to grant him a pension for the loyalty and gallantry he displayed, in seizing with his own hands two of the leaders of an armed mob in the North of Ireland, who afterwards suffered the fate they merited, and expiated their crimes; as also for other services rendered by him, in support of the honour and interests of his sovereign. After having studied my profession for some years, under the auspices of Mr. Leake, city surgeon, a gentleman, as highly respected in his public capacity as he is esteemed in private life by all who have the pleasure of knowing him, and attended the lectures, delivered upon its various branches in Trinity College, and the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin, I entered the 62d regiment, as an assistant surgeon, in the beginning of the year 1804, at the age of eighteen. With this highly disciplined regiment I proceeded, in 1806, to Sicily, and subsequently to Egypt, our corps forming a part of the expedition, commanded by Major General M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie Fraser. We remained in that country for some months, and then returned to Sicily. Shortly after our arrival at Messina, I was detached from the regiment by Mr. Green \*, then deputy inspector of hospitals, and head of the medical department in Sicily, who had been pleased to approve of my services while in Egypt, and sent over to Calabria,

\* It is impossible to name this inestimable man, without being reminded of all that is praiseworthy in public and private life, united to professional talents, which are of the highest description.



which was then nearly conquered by the French under General Lamarque, as senior medical officer to the English forces there, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Robertson. In this situation I remained until our troops were compelled to retire to the castle of Scylla, which, garrisoned by two hundred and thirty men, sustained a six weeks' investment by six thousand men, under the above named general. After nine days bombardment and battering in breach, the fort being reduced to a heap of ruins, and a breach nearly made, while there was a mine in a state of forwardness under the right bastion, the garrison were compelled to quit it in boats, at midday, and under a heavy fire from the besiegers. During the attack, Colonel Robertson was pleased to express his satisfaction at my conduct. Both him and the officers, had subsequently, the honour of receiving the thanks of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, for their gallantry and exertions on this occasion.

Some months after an affair of honour occurred, between Captain, now Lieutenant Colonel Roberts, and Captain Crookshank of the regiment; the latter an old schoolfellow, and highly esteemed friend, to whom I was under many obligations. Having asked my advice, I felt myself bound not to withhold it in a situation of peculiar delicacy; and although this affair was terminated without any injury to either party, a result to which I had the consolation of reflecting I greatly contributed, Lieutenant General Sir John Stewart, then commander of the

forces, thought proper to declare, that the challenger and his second should both quit the service, alledging, as a pretext for so severe a measure, the necessity which he said existed of making an example, in order to put a stop to the practice of duelling, then very prevalent in Sicily. In pursuance of this I was brought to a court martial at Messina, in Sicily, in 1808, and necessarily cashiered by the sentence of the court, as the articles of war are peremptory upon that subject. My conduct while in the army, however, was such, that, on my arrival at Malta, I was introduced by Mr. Green to Admiral Sir Alexander Ball, to whom he gave me such recommendations as he thought I deserved, which caused my immediate appointment to be assistant surgeon of the Ventura schooner. I was subsequently presented by him to the Right Honourable Lord Collingwood, who was pleased to notice me, and to order (after three months' service) that I should be promoted to the situation of acting surgeon of the Sabine sloop of war, Captain Donnor, in which vessel I arrived in England towards the latter end of 1809; but the regulations of the naval service requiring, that no assistant surgeon should be promoted to the place of surgeon until he had served two years in the navy, prevented my being confirmed as such, and I was sent back again to the Mediterranean in the Victorious, Captain Sir John Talbot, K.C.B. On my arrival there, I found, that Sir Alexander Ball was dead; and Lord Collingwood having died shortly



after, I was left without the patronage I had reason to hope would be bestowed upon me, by those two highly distinguished characters. In pursuance of Sir John Talbot's order, I was next attached, at Messina, in Captain Coffin's boat, to the flotilla, which served against the army of Murat in 1810. I remained about four months in this service, during which time attacks were made almost daily by us upon the Neapolitan flotilla, moored under the batteries on the opposite coast. After the dispersion of that army I returned to the Victorious, in which ship I remained until after her having captured the Rivoli. That my conduct was not that of a traitor to his country, as insinuated by the author of the "FACTS," in page 61 and 62, is, I trust, evident from the above faithful statement of my services, and from the flattering notice taken of my name by Captain Sir John Talbot, an officer of so distinguished a character, and so well known by the services he has rendered to his country, as well as the injuries he caused to its enemies, as to render any encomium of mine superfluous. In his public despatches, which announced the capture of the Rivoli, of seventy-four guns and eight hundred and fifty men, by the Victorious, whose complement was above three hundred men less, and after an action, which, for severity and obstinacy, does not find many parallels even in the annals of the British navy, this gallant officer observes, "The number of wounded, and the severity of their wounds, has caused Mr. Baird, the sur-

geon, and Mr. O'Meara, the only assistant on board, very great fatigue. Mr. O'Meara has passed for a surgeon these last three years, and *merits every promotion*\*."

That my conduct while in the army was not wholly devoid of merit, and that my departure from the 62d was regretted by most of the officers of that regiment, may be inferred from the very flattering reception I experienced from the corps on my return to Sicily, in 1809 and 1810, and from the following letter from Mr. Green, now inspector of army hospitals in the West Indies, to Dr. Franklin, principal inspector of the army medical board in London.

Malta, May 6, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR;

Mr. O'Meara, whom you must recollect in the 62d regiment, and who was really in my opinion dealt rigidly with, has requested of me to introduce him to you once more. I am happy to say, that he has not forfeited my good opinion of him. In a most severe action he has proved himself to be a well informed professional man; and by his good conduct, during near three years as an assistant surgeon on board the Victorious, seventy-four, he has gained the esteem of his

\* Extract of Captain Talbot's dispatch, dated 3d of March, 1812, transmitted by Sir Edward Pellew to J. W. Croker, Esq., on the 29th of the same month, and gazetted the 8th of May, 1812.



captain and officers. Captain Talbot has mentioned him in his public dispatch in very handsome terms.

Yours most sincerely,

R. GREEN.

Since leaving Sir John Talbot, I have had the honour of serving in the West Indies for some time, during the late contest with America, and in three different ships, with Captain Frederick Maitland, an officer, whose name stands conspicuously forward in the records of British gallantry; and whose talents were eminently displayed by the *successful* manner in which he blockaded Napoleon in July, 1815, with a force, that, in less able hands, would have been totally inadequate to such a service. I remained with this excellent officer until I was directed to accompany Napoleon to St. Helena, in the manner already stated. Captain Maitland's opinion of my conduct and character will be seen by a perusal of the following letter to Dr. Harness.

November 5, 1814.

DEAR SIR ;

The attention and meritorious conduct of Mr. Barry O'Meara, while surgeon with me, in the Goliath, calls upon me, as an act of justice to him, and of benefit to the service, to state, that, during the fifteen years I have commanded some one of his Majesty's ships, I have never

had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation, who so fully met my expectations. Not being a judge of his professional abilities, though I have every reason to believe them of the first class, and know that to be the opinion of some of the oldest and most respectable surgeons in the Navy, I shall only state, that, during a period of very bad weather, which occasioned the Goliath to be extremely sickly, his attention and tenderness to the men was such as to call forth my warmest approbation, and the grateful affection of both officers and men. Were it probable, that I should soon obtain another appointment, I know of no man in the service I should wish to have as surgeon so much as Mr. O'Meara; as, however, in the present state of the war that is not likely, I trust you will do me the favour of giving him an appointment, as an encouragement to young men of his description. And believe me, dear Sir,

With much respect,

Yours, most sincerely,

FREDERICK L. MAITLAND.

I feel that some farther apology is necessary for all these details; but when the nature of the attack, made on all that a man should cherish and esteem in society, is considered, I rely with confidence, rather on the sympathy than disapprobation of the public, for thus endeavouring to render myself that justice, which has been repeatedly denied to me in other quarters.



Although it is, I trust, unnecessary to make any very detailed reply to the author's diabolical attempt to identify me with a person of the same name, mentioned in the "Secret History of the Cabinet of Saint Cloud," as a partisan of the French government, in Ireland, I am particularly anxious, that the mode and manner of making the above charge, should be carefully examined by every lover of justice; and in the event of the author's not coming forward to disavow the accuracy of his self-evident insinuations, I shall consider myself bound to follow the advice of those, who have recommended the adoption of legal measures, for the more perfect justification of my character, and punishment of the offender.

Had this attack not been intended as a cool and deliberate effort to destroy my reputation, the writer would surely have taken the trouble of asking those, who furnished him with his other "FACTS," what my probable age might be? in which case, even such a writer as I have been called upon to answer, would not have considered a boy of twelve years old, and occupied in learning the first rudiments of his education, as a likely person to act either in the capacity of a spy or partisan\*.

\* The Editor of the British Monitor, who was the author of the work quoted by this traducer, observes, in the article of his paper already alluded to, "In justice to MR. O'MEARA, of whom I never entertained a very favourable opinion till now, I hereby declare, that he is not the person I alluded to in my "*Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte.*"

In page 62, I am accused of an *intimacy* with Mr. Lewis Solomon; an intimacy with a tradesman, who I have every reason to believe a most respectable character, is rather an extraordinary *crime for an Englishman* to accuse another of; allowing it to be the fact, which, however, is not the case: my intimacy with Mr. Lewis Solomon only consisted in my having frequently purchased articles in his shop, and paying him for them whenever he sent in his bill. "Furnishing newspapers for my private amusement at Longwood," is also, I suppose, considered to be a heinous offence, as it is printed in capitals. The truth is, that, until the month of May or June, 1818, I never saw more than one number of the Antigallican in St. Helena (as stated in a former page). At that time, I saw several numbers of this paper in Mr. Solomon's shop, which had been just returned to him from Sir Thomas Reade, to whom Mr. Solomon had lent them. I borrowed a few of these, and begged some more, which he could not accommodate me with, as he informed me they were first promised to the Adjutant General.

As if the above pretended intimacy was a crime of the first magnitude, upon which something very important depended, the author thinks he has fully proved it by a long story, relative to a snuff box, which Napoleon was desirous of presenting to Mr. Boys, one of the island chaplains, in testimony of his attending the remains of M. Cipriani to the grave. Much has been already said on this subject,



I consider myself bound therefore to trespass on the reader's indulgence, by relating the facts in the way they really occurred; and I have no doubt the gentleman, whose name has been thus brought forward to public notice, will not refuse to corroborate them, if called on for that purpose. But in every case, the candid and impartial will know how to appreciate the motives, which could have induced the author and his friends to attach such wonderful consequences to this insignificant affair.

M. Cipriani had been attended in the illness, which caused his death, by Mr. Baxter and Mr. Henry, of the 66th, in addition to myself. After his demise, General Montholon was desirous of testifying the high sense entertained of their conduct by the French, and requested me to purchase something handsome in the town, for the purpose of being presented to them; as I had assured him, that I was convinced any fees for professional attendance would be refused by both. Accordingly I purchased, from Mr. Lewis Solomon, a silver breakfast set for each; and a day or two afterwards informed Mr. Baxter, at Plantation House, of General Montholon's intentions, and that the present would be sent to his house in a short time. Three days afterwards, Mr. Baxter informed me, that he had consulted Sir Hudson Lowe upon the subject, and that he should be obliged to decline receiving it; he, therefore, begged of me to prevent its being sent to him. No intimation whatsoever was made to me, either by Mr. Baxter or Sir Hudson Lowe,

of there being any impropriety in my serving as a channel for these little presents.

General Montholon, who wished to manifest the satisfaction which the French felt at the liberality of the tenets of our church, which permitted a Catholic to be buried in Protestant consecrated ground, and with Protestant rites, begged of me to purchase a snuff box for each of the clergymen. I bought one, which I thought would answer the purpose, at the shop of Mr. Saul Solomon; and, as Mr. Boys was upon the point of sailing for England, it was delivered by me to him, with General Montholon's compliments; explaining, at the same time, that when a similar one could be procured, it would be sent to Mr. Vernon. Upon receiving the box, Mr. Boys showed it to Mr. Vernon, and informed him, that a similar present was intended for him, as soon as General Montholon had an opportunity of purchasing one from the shops. Being, however, subsequently desirous of obtaining from General Montholon a complimentary letter, explanatory of the reasons why the box had been presented, he returned it to me, with a letter, in which he begged that I would give it to General Montholon, with a request, that it should be sent to him through the channel of the Governor, when the box intended for Mr. Vernon was forwarded. This letter and the box were left, publicly, at Mr. Lewis Solomon's shop, where both were seen by several officers; amongst others, by Mr. Baxter. A copy of the



letter to me he inclosed to Mr. Vernon, as a friend; without, however, as stated in the "Facts," desiring him to acquaint the Governor of its contents. I did not receive either the box or the letter for some days after Mr. Boys' departure. Upon the receipt of them, I immediately returned the box to General Montholon, and I communicated Mr. Boys' wish, which he refused to comply with; alleging, that by so doing, he should establish a precedent for tradesmen to refuse receiving payment for articles purchased at their shops; or for the accoucheur, who attended his wife, to decline receiving his fees, unless given through the Governor; and that the restrictions were already sufficiently severe and obnoxious, without any farther increase being made in their number. Two or three days after Mr. Boys' departure, Mr. Vernon went to Mr. Baxter and Sir Thomas Reade, to whom he recounted, that *Mr. Boys had clandestinely received a snuff box from Bonaparte, and that I was the bearer of it.* It may be proper to inform the reader, that Mr. Boys is the senior chaplain at St. Helena, the salary of which is four or five hundred a year more than that of the junior, unattended with the drudgery of superintending the instruction of the boys and girls in the Company's school; of which Mr. Vernon was often heard to complain; and that, upon the demise, removal, or dismissal, of the senior chaplain, *the junior necessarily succeeds to his situation.* Mr. Vernon was immediately sent for, and interrogated by Sir Hud-

son Lowe, to whom he reported, that he had in his possession the copy of a letter from Mr. Boys to me\*. An hour or two after this interview with the Governor, Mr. Vernon called upon me at the Old Post Office, in James' Town, and said he had some important information to communicate, which he commenced by asking me, if I had heard any thing relative to the box that Mr. Boys had received? I replied, "Nothing whatsoever." He answered, "Then you soon will; for Boys unfortunately told Firmin† the whole story, and, somehow or another, it got to Sir Thomas Reade's ears, and from thence

\* Mr. Vernon, when he lived at Plantation House, was in the habit of occasionally paying a visit to Count Bertrand's family, ostensibly for the purpose of assisting the Count in the selection of books for the education of his children. On these occasions, he did not scruple to censure, in very severe terms, the line of conduct which had been adopted towards them; and in February, 1817, he informed Count and Countess Bertrand, that both himself and his wife would come very often to see them, were it not that *the Governor obliged every person, who visited Longwood, to undergo a long interrogation prior to granting a pass, and that, on their return, they were obliged to make a report of every thing they had seen, said, or heard*; that himself and his wife, "ETANT HONNÊTES GENS!" did not like to comply with a regulation of so dishonourable a nature. This assertion of Mr. Vernon's was perfectly correct; but the circumstance was, until then, unknown to the French, though it afterwards formed one of the observations upon Lord Bathurst's Speech. Perhaps Mr. Vernon was conscious of having exceeded his mission, and was desirous of making some atonement to the Governor, by impeaching his "*camarade*."

† Island schoolmaster to the East India Company, and a very respectable character.



to the Governor, who sent for me this morning, and I was *weak* enough to tell him, that I had a copy of Boys' letter to you; *which I am now very sorry for. It was very foolish of Boys to make a confidant of any one.*" I replied, "Although the circumstance of Mr. Boys having received the box was of so simple and innocent a nature, and moreover so creditable to the Protestant religion, that there was no necessity for making a secret of it to any person, except a man of so crooked a turn of mind as Sir Hudson Lowe, who, according to his usual custom, would probably have applied the most criminal intentions to the most innocent action; it is very unfortunate that he has acted as you say; for he could not have taken a more sure method of making known the whole affair, and perhaps of ruining himself for ever. The Governor will not fail to pervert the whole business, and make such a clandestine representation of it as may, perhaps, be of material injury to Mr Boys, as he has already done to others. As to myself, I care not about it; for he can do no more than order me off the island; an event I have expected for a long time, and which I am fully prepared for." Mr. Vernon then repeated, in very strong terms, his concern at the mischief which might accrue from, what he called, "*this unfortunate affair,*" to Mr. Boys and myself: professing, at the same time, THE GREATEST FRIENDSHIP TO BOTH OF US, and his *regret* that he had been WEAK enough to tell Sir Hudson Lowe that he had a copy of

Mr. Boys' letter. He then said, as if he had unexpectedly discovered a satisfactory expedient, "If I had known what the Governor wanted, I would have destroyed the letter; even as it is, *I will endeavour to lose it.* There is a soldier to be buried at Deadwood this day; and, although it is not my turn of duty, I will go up and bury his corpse, and endeavour to lose the letter in the way, in order that I may be able to tell the Governor, *with truth*, that I have it not in my possession." To this extraordinary speech I answered, "That is a very foolish way of getting rid of it; because, if you lose it on the road, it will be picked up by some person, and most probably brought to Sir Thomas Reade, or to some of his SATELLITES. You had better destroy it, or give it to me, and I will tear it up before your face; then there can be no scruples upon your conscience, to prevent your saying, that it is destroyed, or that you have it not." Mr. Vernon declined to do this; but repeated, that he would endeavour to lose it on the road to Deadwood; adding, that perhaps the Governor would forget to ask him for it; professing great concern at Mr. Boys' having been so foolish as to write to him, and to make a confidant of *such a man as Firmin.* I replied, that, considering he had to deal with a man, who put a bad construction upon every thing, it was unfortunate Mr. Boys had written; as what had passed in conversation between us, could not be productive of injury; but that what had been written, would remain to serve



as a text for perversions, which would inevitably be put on it, by a man of such a disposition as Sir Hudson Lowe. This is the substance of the conversation which passed between Mr. Vernon and myself; to the truth of which I am ready to make oath. Immediately after it, this *clergyman* went to the *Governor*, with whom he remained for a considerable time; and I have been credibly informed, that he subsequently made a written report, at the *Governor's* house, of a conversation stated by him to have taken place with me; a copy of which document was forwarded by Sir Hudson Lowe to London; but of which no notice, or information, was ever furnished to me by Sir Hudson Lowe. On the contrary, all knowledge of it was concealed by him from me, during my residence upon the island. Previous to this, Mr. Vernon had been in the habit of frequently conversing with me, and of giving his opinion very freely upon the system which was pursued on the island, and particularly on Sir Thomas Reade's actions. There is no necessity for much comment upon his conduct; the reader will not fail to draw his own conclusions. If Mr. Vernon conceived, that Mr. Boys, in receiving the box, had received the wages of corruption, or had acted in any manner against his allegiance, he betrayed the interests and honour of his country by not going on the spot, and communicating it to the *Governor*; by concealing it until after Mr. Boys' departure, and divulging it at a time when the

latter was not present to defend himself; like a double traitor, he at once BETRAYED HIS COUNTRY AND HIS FRIEND!

From the tone of self congratulation, and ludicrous confidence, with which the author of the "FACTS" ushers in his remarks about a letter and parcel, addressed to "JAMES FORBES, Esq." but intended for me, he was, doubtless, perfectly satisfied, that nothing more was necessary to complete the long catalogue of "treasons, stratagems, and broils," to which my name had been so clearly appended in the preceding pages. Fortunately, as one of the author's mottos has told the public, "*ogni medaglia ha il suo reverso.*" It, therefore, only remains for the reader to compare the following extract from a letter, addressed by Mr. Holmes, of Lyons' Inn, to Mr. Goulburn, dated January 26, 1819, with the author's conclusion in page 68.

"It is impossible for me, Sir, to misconceive the meaning intended to be conveyed by the words, 'clandestine correspondence;' and as this is the first time Lord Bathurst has given me an opportunity of explaining why, what you are pleased to style, 'clandestine correspondence,' existed, I avail myself of it, for the purpose of proving to his Lordship, that the necessity of it became unavoidable, in consequence of a most illegal and indecent outrage committed by some person, in opening a letter of mine, addressed to Dr. O'Meara.

"On the 8th August, 1817, I addressed a letter



to Lord Bathurst, wherein I stated, that I had written several times to my client, Dr. O'Meara, from whom I never obtained a reply. And that, from having heard from him on subjects unconnected with the purport of my communications, I conceived my letters had miscarried; and I requested his Lordship would do me the honour to forward my letters, and begged his directions as to the manner in which they should be sent to Mr. O'Meara, whether sealed or unsealed.

“ You were pleased to reply to this letter, on the 11th of the same month; and you acquainted me, that Lord Bathurst was not aware of any reason why Mr. O'Meara had not received my letters, and that I might depend upon any I might have occasion to write, in future, being forwarded, if I sent them under cover to his Lordship; and you concluded your letter, by observing, that it was not necessary my letters should be sent unsealed.

“ With this assurance from Lord Bathurst, of the sacred nature of my correspondence, I wrote, on the 14th of August, 1817, to Mr. O'Meara, in confidence, and on matters connected with his private affairs alone, and sent it on the same day to Lord Bathurst, with a request, that it should be conveyed.

“ Judge, Sir, of my surprise and indignation, on receiving a letter from Dr. O'Meara, dated 27th February, 1818, informing me, that the letter above mentioned, of the 14th of August, 1817, was sent

to him from Plantation House, on the 31st of December, 1817, with the seal broken open, and a note from Colonel Wynyard, stating, that it was received in that state by the Governor\*.

“ I would wish not to do my Lord Bathurst, or his department, so much injustice, as to suppose, for a moment, after your having written to me to send my correspondence sealed, that my letters were opened in this country. No, Sir, I think such an illegal and ungentlemanly proceeding, could only have been adopted by a man, *whose known conduct justifies such suspicions.*

“ I appeal, through you, Sir, to Lord Bathurst, to know whether such conduct as this, did not justify me in endeavouring to secure, by private means, the safe delivery of my letters to Dr. O'Meara. The Act of Parliament for the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte forbade it not; the local regulations of St. Helena were unknown to me. But after all, Sir, what is the injury done, or likely to be done, by my private communications? In what have I so materially erred, that Lord Bathurst should think proper so far to interfere with my occupation, as to think me an unfit person to execute commissions, entrusted to my care in the usual course of business? Surely his Lordship must have been misled by false representation, or he would not so unceremoniously have condemned me unheard; and with this feeling I avail myself of

\* The contents of the letter, which had been thus broken open, were afterwards disseminated in the island.



the opportunity now afforded to me, to give his Lordship such explanation of my conduct, as will sufficiently manifest the innocent nature of my correspondence.

“ It can scarcely be unknown to his Lordship, that, for a considerable time, Count Bertrand has been obliged to expend from three to five hundred pounds sterling, monthly, partly in the purchase of the necessaries of life, of which Sir Hudson Lowe refused to supply a quantity sufficient for the consumption of the French, and partly in the domestic comforts and private expenses of the families at Longwood. The money arising from the sale of Napoleon Bonaparte’s plate, which had been broken up at St. Helena, in order to relieve their necessities; with four thousand pounds, lent by Count Las Cases; together with nine or ten thousand pounds, the only tangible property of Count Bertrand (and which had been deposited in the hands of Messrs. Baring, Brothers, and Co.), having been exhausted; several bills, drawn by Count Bertrand, upon a respectable house in London, were protested. As the French were prevented access to their own resources, application was made to me, as an agent, to endeavour to ascertain the state of some funds, which were supposed to exist; or, if that should be found impracticable, to discover if they had not relations, who, when informed of their necessities, would offer pecuniary assistance, to a certain extent, *viz.* five hundred pounds per month, being

the amount of the sum which had been calculated by them to be absolutely necessary (over and above the allowance furnished by Sir Hudson Lowe) for the maintenance, &c., of the families at Longwood. And in order to prevent any further protesting of Count Bertrand's bills, I was requested to accept bills, drawn by him, to the amount of one thousand eight hundred pounds, at the rate of two hundred pounds per month; and I was also desired to send out, occasionally, books, pamphlets, and newspapers.

“ In order to guarantee me from suffering any loss, such communications were made to me as enabled me to ascertain, that a sum, not exceeding three thousand pounds sterling, would be deposited in my hands; and I was also directed to obtain some information touching the state of the funds. Those communications were wholly of a private nature, and altogether foreign to politics. I felt a pleasure in the task committed to my charge, and happy in the thought, that I might, perhaps, contribute to alleviate their sufferings. I immediately wrote to St. Helena the letters, to which so much unmerited importance has been attached, and without any hesitation consented to honour bills drawn upon me as far as one thousand eight hundred pounds. This, Sir, is the history of my correspondence; and if I have committed a crime in what I have done, it is a crime of so honourable and humane a nature, that, if placed again in a similar situation, I should not hesitate to repeat it.



“ Had Lord Bathurst condescended to have granted me an interview, after the receipt of my letter of the 14th November last, I would have convinced his Lordship, that my object was to furnish to the French prisoners such comforts as they could not procure at St. Helena, either from want of sufficient pecuniary means, the locality and remoteness of that island, or were denied to them by Sir Hudson Lowe.

“ I am aware, that Count Las Cases has often requested that books, pamphlets, &c., should be sent out to Napoleon Bonaparte, and also, that he is grieved to hear from Count Bertrand, that only twenty-seven volumes of new publications, with fifteen numbers of the “ *Lettres Normandes et Champanoises*,” have been received at Longwood, for nearly two years; and that even some of those were books, which had been published during the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte himself. I am aware, also, that books, pamphlets, and newspapers, which you declared, in your letter of the 1st of April, 1818, it was your intention to send out to Napoleon Bonaparte, had not arrived at Longwood, so late as the middle of last August; and that Napoleon Bonaparte never receives any French newspapers, although in your said letter you state, that the *Journal de Commerce*, and some other French newspapers, will be regularly forwarded for the use of General Bonaparte. Moreover, as in your letter of the 28th February, you inform the Count, that you would, from time to time, apply to him for payment of the books you might send out to St.

Helena; and as he knew that those which had been promised had not arrived at Longwood, it was not extraordinary that he felt it incumbent upon him to employ an agent in London to purchase and send out such books, &c., as he ordered; and having applied to me for that purpose, surely my employment cannot be deemed either unnecessary or inexpedient\*.

“ The books alluded to in my former letters, I am willing to send, for examination, to any person Lord Bathurst may think proper to appoint, and to be shipped by that person (or any other his Lordship may select) for St. Helena; I also pledge my honour, that they contain no letters, nor papers, nor clandestine information, of any description whatsoever; and I am ready to give his Lordship any security he may desire, in support of my veracity.

“ If Lord Bathurst will do me the honour to name a bookseller, I will, in future, order books to be sent by him, in any manner his Lordship may direct, for the use of Napoleon Bonaparte; and my sole interference in the business shall be the ordering and paying for them †.”

I trust that the foregoing explanations, added to those which are yet to follow, will be a sufficient

\* As stated in one of Mr. Goulburn's letters, to be the opinion of Lord Bathurst.

† A compliance with this proposal was REFUSED on the part of Lord Bathurst, by Mr. Goulburn's letter, dated the 27th of January, 1819.



excuse for my not dwelling on the vulgar and inflated interrogatory with which the author closes the attack more immediately levelled at myself. Sir Hudson Lowe would have doubtless, according to his own and this writer's notions of equity, "been fully justified" in even doing more than he has to blast my character, and wound my feelings; but, thank Heaven, there is such a tribunal as PUBLIC OPINION in England, and having been driven to the alternative of appealing to it, I am perfectly prepared to stand or fall by its decision.

In his 68th page, the author of the "FACTS" observes; "As for the bulletins issued about Bonaparte's health, to deceive the prince and people of England, I confess I never heard of them." This miserable subterfuge is evidently the last resource of a person, conscious of having been guilty of underhand practices, and solicitous to throw off imputations of a nature not to be easily extenuated. At Plantation House, the subject was, doubtless, rather irksome, and not likely to have been often made the theme of discussion. By means of the transposition of persons, dates, and circumstances, his instructor has misrepresented to him what he knew to be true, by describing the memoranda upon Sir Thomas Reade's letter, written and sent to the Governor on the 25th of April, 1818, as having been applied to Dr. Verling, an assistant surgeon of the artillery, then attending the sick of his own detachment, in James' Town; and who was not sent to Longwood by Sir Hudson Lowe, until the 25th of July of the same year, that is to

say, EIGHTY-NINE days, after the memoranda had been sent to the Governor.

The true history of this extraordinary transaction is as follows. In 1816 Sir Hudson Lowe *ordered* me to make out, whenever he thought proper, bulletins of the state of Napoleon's health, from whose knowledge he desired that they might be concealed, and which he sometimes caused to be altered. In September, 1817, Napoleon having fallen seriously ill, bulletins were made daily (by Sir Hudson Lowe's order), and Napoleon became acquainted with their formation in the beginning of October, through *authorised* persons. He did not like this practice, and thought it was very extraordinary, that his private surgeon should be obliged to make bulletins of the state of his complaints, *unknown* to him; and informed me, that, unless I gave my word of honour I would write no more, without having first obtained his consent (or if he was so ill as to render it improper to consult him, that of Count-Bertrand), and also that I should leave the originals in the hands of one of his suite, he would receive me no more. I did not like to enter into this engagement, without first acquainting Sir Hudson Lowe, who returned an evasive answer, and made Napoleon wait a considerable time for a decisive reply. After the latter had been several days without seeing me, Sir Hudson Lowe authorised me to tell him, that no more bulletins should be asked from me, without first making him (Napoleon) acquainted with the demand. Some difficulties had presented them-



selves in the compilation of the bulletins, Sir Hudson Lowe insisted, that Napoleon should be styled General Bonaparte in them: after some discussion on the subject however, Count Bertrand authorised me to drop all titles, and to make use of the word "*patient.*" This I communicated verbally to Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 15th of October, 1817. All difficulties appeared to be removed by this proposal, and as the originals must have been left in Count Bertrand's hands, there could have been no possibility of causing any falsification of them. Sir Hudson Lowe, however, did not approve of this proposal, and refused to comply with it, consequently no more bulletins were made by me. Sir Hudson Lowe then had recourse to an expedient, perfectly consistent with other measures, which he had introduced in St. Helena, but which I believe cannot be justified by any principle of probity.

HE CAUSED SURREPTITIOUS BULLETINS TO BE MADE, AND EMPLOYED FOR THAT PURPOSE A SURGEON, WHO NEVER SAW THE PATIENT, AND WHO, CONSEQUENTLY, COULD NOT BE A JUDGE OF HIS COMPLAINT; WHICH BULLETINS WERE SENT TO ENGLAND, AND THE DIFFERENT COURTS OF EUROPE, BY SIR HUDSON LOWE, AND BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ALLIED POWERS (TO WHOM THEY WERE FURNISHED BY SIR HUDSON LOWE), FROM NOVEMBER, 1817, UNTIL APRIL 1818; at which period a discovery of the transaction was made to the French by one of the Commissioners of the Allied Powers (from whom Sir Hudson

Lowe had kept secret the mysterious nature of the measure which he had caused to be adopted) having accidentally said to General Montholon, "We saw in the bulletin of this morning, that Napoleon was so and so:" this led to an explanation amongst the parties most interested, and a discovery was made of the expedient, which had been adopted by the Governor\*.

When I resumed my medical functions at Longwood, on the 9th of May, 1818, Napoleon, in order to put a stop to the fabrication of any more bulletins, required that I should make out a report of the state of his health weekly (or oftener if necessary), a copy of which should be given to the Governor, if he required it. This I imme-

\* Sir Hudson Lowe, when he could no longer avoid giving some reasons for such conduct, endeavoured to slur it over by alledging to Count Bertrand, "that the false bulletins were merely repetitions of my conversations with Mr. Baxter." If so, why conceal them from me, why make a mystery of them? In order to have rendered them authentic, surely they ought to have been shown to the only medical man, who saw the patient, whose disease they pretended to describe! It is unnecessary to make many observations upon such mysterious conduct; to those who are animated by honest or upright motives, nothing more than the truth is wanting.

To remove any doubts that might arise on the part of the public, relative to the above highly important circumstance, so strikingly illustrative of the system pursued at St. Helena, as well as to prevent the possibility of denial by those, who are so deeply implicated in the transaction, which I have felt it my bounden duty to explain, some of the most important official documents connected with it will be found in the Appendix, No. I to VIII.



diately communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe, who not only did not require it, but *prohibited* me from making any *written report* whatsoever to him; and even sent back those which I wrote to him, compelling me to come to Plantation House, whenever he thought proper to send for me, to make *verbal* reports, in the presence of a *witness of his own selection*, not failing, according to his general custom, to vent his spleen on me, whenever the caprice or malice of the moment stimulated him.

Still pursuing his plan of *mystification*, and determined not to deviate from it, the author of the "FACTS" states, in pages 69 and 70, that Napoleon has the uncontrolled privilege of riding, and is permitted to receive company. Thus confounding, as in the instance of the bulletins, Napoleon's note, written on the 25th of April, 1818, with circumstances which occurred three months after that letter had been sent to Sir Hudson Lowe, and with the arrival of Dr. Verling at Longwood, July 25th of the same year. Upon the subject of being allowed to receive company, I have to observe, that visits between the officers, inhabitants, passengers, and the prisoners at Longwood, are effectually prevented, either by direct prohibitions, as issued to the officers of the 66th regiment\*, by

\* Directly a ship of war arrives on the station, the officers belonging to it, previous to being permitted to go on shore, are officially prohibited, in writing, from *all communication whatsoever* with the exiles. In some instances, the Governor endeavoured to obtain admission for favourites of his own at Longwood, or for persons whose known sentiments were decidedly hostile to Napoleon.

the proclamations, insinuations and threats made to individuals, and by an apprehension of rendering themselves suspected, or by their being expected and required to make a *report* of their conversations to the Governor. Two marked examples, clearly showing, that any amelioration, however plausible it may seem, is really only got up to have the *appearance* of doing something to benefit the prisoner's situation, while in reality nothing is done, will be found in the following instances.

On the 9th of May, 1818, a letter was received by Count Bertrand, from Sir Hudson Lowe, containing extracts from a letter of Earl Bathurst, dated 1st January, 1818, and offering to grant permission for fifty persons, the choice of Napoleon himself (subject to the approbation of the Governor), to visit Longwood, without any other pass than his invitation being required; also containing directions, that, in summer, the sentinels should not be placed round the house until nine o'clock. Sir Hudson Lowe, about the same time that he sent this letter, published a proclamation, in which he prohibited *any communication whatsoever* with the foreign persons under detention. He also continued to post the sentinels, as usual, at six o'clock; gave written orders at the guard room to allow the French to pass until nine o'clock, while verbal ones were daily given to the sentinels not to allow them to go out after sunset (six o'clock); and caused the officers of the 66th regiment to be prohibited from



speaking to the French, under pain of being reported to him.

The other instance will serve to point out, even in a still stronger light, that every supposed improvement, however specious it may appear, is merely illusory ; while it clearly manifests the *understanding* which subsists between some of the principal characters in St. Helena. In the latter end of December, 1818, an officer of his Majesty's ship Favorite, who was invited to Plantation House, in the course of conversation there with Sir Hudson Lowe, asked the latter, if a report that he had heard, of Lord Bathurst having accorded permission for fifty persons to visit Napoleon, were true ; as, if so, he intended to apply, in conjunction with some of his brother officers, to be included amongst that number. Sir Hudson Lowe, in reply, admitted the truth of the report, and said, that he was very willing to give the applicant a pass for that purpose, whenever he thought proper to ask for one, protesting, in a most *pathetic* strain, "*his sorrow, that Bonaparte did not see any person,*" in which he was joined by Sir Thomas Readé, who was present. On the 28th of December (two or three days afterwards), Lieutenants Pearce and Booth, and Surgeon Hall, of the Favorite, waited (in consequence of this declaration of Sir Hudson Lowe's) upon Sir Thomas Reade, and requested a pass to proceed to Longwood. After some hesitation, the Sicilian knight said, that it was not in his power to grant them what they desired ; that they

must apply to the Admiral; upon whom they accordingly waited. After explaining the purpose they came for, they underwent a long interrogation from Admiral Plampin, as to the object of their visit to Longwood; and, finally, obtained a pass to proceed there, upon one condition, however, *viz.* “*That they should give their word of honour to the Admiral not to go near Napoleon, even if the latter should send for them.*” Upon this condition, they paid their first and last visit to the captives. Such are the means employed by the Governor of St. Helena, to debar Napoleon from receiving visitors, and at the same time to make it appear the act of another!

An additional proof of these gentlemen's entering into the spirit of each other's views is furnished by what occurred to myself. Having been frequently desired by Sir Hudson Lowe (when I remonstrated against his ill treatment) to appeal to Admiral Plampin, who, he observed, was ready to hear what I had to say; I accordingly, on the 12th of April, 1818, proceeded to that officer's residence, in order to lay my grievances before him, and to ask his advice. The Admiral, who was walking with his *lady*, on the lawn before the house, retired to his apartment, as soon as he perceived my approach. I then explained to Mr. Elliott, his secretary, the nature of my business, and requested the honour of an interview with the Admiral, who, upon my request being communicated to him, *refused to see me*; and some weeks afterwards, Sir Hudson Lowe made “the



having purposely neglected to appeal to my own Commander in Chief," *an article of accusation against me, and a proof that "my cause was bad!"*

In page 71, as on some other occasions, the author replies to a question, put by himself, relative to the "*ferocious smile*," which Napoleon is represented as having attributed to Sir Hudson Lowe and his Adjutant General\*. Though I will not go quite so far as the writer, in affirming what the original expression, "*on sourit*," does not positively imply, I am convinced, that every unbiassed and impartial observer, who had witnessed the vexations experienced by the inmates at Longwood, subsequent to the above officer's arrival, would justify very strong language on their part, particularly when it is considered, that all other means of redress seemed unattainable.

The best possible comment I can make on the oft-repeated professions of purity and impartiality, together with the enthusiastic praises lavished on Sir Hudson Lowe, contained in the author's following pages, will be found in a perusal of the various incontrovertible facts, stated towards the close of these Remarks, illustrative of the Lieutenant General's treatment of the prisoners under his charge,

\* From the author's allusion to the frequency of Sir Thomas Reade's smiling, he is doubtless very well acquainted with that officer, and can, perhaps, inform the public, whether "Sir Thomas" smiled in saying, that "*the Allied Powers had missed their aim; and that they ought to have strangled Young Napoleon.*"

and myself. By comparing that treatment with this writer's fulsome encomiums, the public will be able to form a judgment of its own, uninfluenced by all that sophistry can suggest on the one hand, or misrepresentation devise on the other.

Fertile as the author is in discovering that which no one ever dreamt of before, and which the evidence of facts, no less than palpable notoriety, flatly contradicts, it need not excite surprize, if he, who indiscriminately vilifies every individual, and of both sexes (not excepting Count Bertrand's *children*), forming a part of Napoleon's suite, should have found humanity, and all the other virtues, centered in the person, for whose *justification* his book is evidently written. The author has, however, totally mistaken the character of his countrymen, if he can, for a moment, suppose, that the British public will be satisfied with a *general* enumeration of Sir Hudson Lowe's virtues, unattended by *any instances*, wherein those peerless qualities have been exercised: nay, he cannot possibly believe, that any reflecting man could have perused his inflated paragraphs, in which adulation and flattery the most gross are blended, without requiring some illustrations of that "noble munificence," "friendship," and "charity," so eminently conspicuous in the character of his friend, or patron. I venture to add, that one single instance of those virtues being put into practice by Sir Hudson Lowe, would have had more effect on the public opinion of his country than volumes of panegyric,



such as I have noticed. In the absence of those proofs, I cannot help considering the author's praises as so many invitations to inquiry on the part of his readers; and until they have ascertained upon what specific grounds these unusual compliments are paid, some will regard them rather in the light of ingenious satires, than serious applause. What, for example, can be more vague and unsatisfactory than the following trite observation, with which the author's encomium in this part of his book terminates. "The instances of Sir Hudson Lowe's munificence, to which I have alluded, I could easily record, but the feelings of others are to be spared. Justice demanded that I should say thus much, delicacy forbids my saying more."

When the general character of the author's book, the mysterious and anonymous shape his statements come before the public, together with "the merest chance in the world, which placed him in St. Helena," are coupled with the *cause* he espouses, the above passage opens a wide field for conjecture, while it fully justifies suspicions, no less injurious to the party, whose measures he defends, than derogatory to his own principles and honesty. A short time will probably clear up the circumstances connected with this publication: until that period arrives, it would be premature to carry conjecture any farther.

Returning to the "FACTS," the author observes, page 77, "On one occasion, when Sir Thomas Reade (who is Deputy Adjutant General) went to

him to make some communication, Bonaparte began, with his characteristic impetuosity, to foam and grunt ; on which Sir Thomas told him, that he hoped he would not fly into a passion." What was the fact in this case, so completely distorted by the author? Sir Thomas Reade told me, after his interview with Napoleon, that, "as his mission was of so unpleasant a nature, couched in very strong language\*, he was surprized at Bonaparte's being so very civil to him ; instead of being offended, he laughed, asked him, What news? and

\* Sir Thomas Reade allowed me to read the paper ; the contents of which were as follows: "That the Longwood establishment should be diminished in number four persons (without specifying any individuals, except Piontkowski), who were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, forthwith. That those who were permitted to remain must sign a form, dictated to them by Sir Hudson Lowe, purporting their willingness to submit to any restrictions, which he might think proper to impose upon Napoleon Bonaparte, without adding any comment or remarks of their own. That those who would not sign this, should be sent to the Cape directly. Any of those who remained in St. Helena, *reflecting on, or abusing, the Government* they were under, *or otherwise behaving ill*, should be *forthwith turned off* the island, and sent to the Cape, from whence *no facility* would be allowed them of returning to Europe. That they should be subject to the British laws, and particularly to those Acts which declared the aiding and abetting of Napoleon Bonaparte to escape, an act of felony, and punishable by death, and that they would be tried and punished accordingly, should they be discovered making any such attempts. Also a demand for the payment of the price of the books sent out to Napoleon, and an intimation of the Governor's desire, that an officer appointed by him should be always present when any strangers visited Napoleon."



other questions of a similar nature; merely remarking, when the disagreeable communication had been verbally translated by Count Las Cases, “*Piu mi si perseguiterá, meglio andrà, e mostrerà al mondo che rabbia di persecuzione, fra poco tempo mi si leverá tutti gli altri, é qualche mattina, m’a mazzeranno.*” Such were the knight’s own words.

Having informed the public, that Napoleon *does not*, and CANNOT consider himself as tyrannically treated, the author asserts, in speaking of the “*Longwood Court,*” that, “none of them have ever expressed the slightest desire for religious assistance.” This is decidedly false; as Count Las Cases applied for a priest in 1816, shortly after Sir Hudson Lowe’s arrival; and Count Bertrand repeated the application again, in February or March, 1818. I have also been informed, that Lord Bathurst, when asked by Count Bertrand’s father, or some other relative, to grant permission for a priest to proceed to St. Helena, for the purpose of instructing the former’s children, replied, that he would not allow any person of that description to go to that colony, who had not already passed his *sixtieth* year; which was nearly tantamount to a refusal. I have frequently seen Madame Bertrand (who is stigmatised by this writer, as being of no religion) deeply lament the want of a religious instructor at Longwood, and complain of the barbarity manifested in the refusal to permit a catholic clergyman to proceed to St. Helena. All the time Counts Bertrand and Montholon can devote to it, is em-

ployed by them in teaching their children, and inculcating the necessity of religious duties. Count Bertrand\*, in particular, is occupied almost incessantly in the education of his three charming children; and under his instruction *solely*, two of the boys are very far advanced in Latin, arithmetic, &c. The beautiful little Hortense has also made a considerable progress. The time absorbed by these laudable pursuits is the cause of his not visiting the town more frequently, instead of the slanderous insinuation conveyed in page 47.

After confessing that he has read none of the works which have been written on St. Helena, the author enters into an elaborate and picturesque description of the island's natural beauties, improvements caused by Sir Hudson Lowe's measures, &c. It is evident, that all the powers of his inventive fancy have been brought into play on this occasion; and however calculated such absurd exaggerations are to impose on the credulity of the unthinking and ignorant, the excessive pains taken to impress the public with an idea of their correctness, when compared with the accounts of other writers, affords a presumptive proof of the author's determination to keep all the inconveniences, whether natural or artificial, to which the island is exposed, totally out of sight. This is amply proved by his frequent recurrence to the advantages enjoyed there, without noticing a single fact of an opposite nature.

\* General Montholon's children are much younger.



Having already given some account of the island and its climate, the authenticity of which I am fully prepared to prove, I shall, at present, content myself with finally replying to the author's statements upon this subject, by quoting the opinion of two writers. Amongst those, whom he has not consulted, Mr. Secretary Brooke, already mentioned, in speaking of St. Helena, very truly observes:—  
 “The island, however, is not to be considered as possessing a general fertility. The greater part of it is a *barren, reluctant waste*. Even in the best cultivated and richest spots, that often make abundant returns, the expectations of the gardener are frequently disappointed; and from occasional causes in the earth or the atmosphere, his labour is defeated, and his crops often fail\*.”

These remarks may be still farther corroborated by a reference to the late highly respected Governor Major General Beatson's Tracts, published evidently with a view of extolling St. Helena, and enhancing its value as a colony. Speaking of Longwood, he observes, “In former times it was covered with wood, and was, therefore, called the ‘great wood.’” A little farther on, and after some warm expressions in praise of its plain, the General adds, “About a mile and a half to the eastward of Longwood House, there are the remains of many gum wood trees; nothing is left but the roots, and a few inches of bark.”

In a report of the Governor and Council, made in

\* Brooke's History of St. Helena, page 18.

1716, which follows, it is stated, amongst other things connected with the disabilities of this spot, "there are no springs of water, but what are salt and brackish." Having in another of his tracts endeavoured to prove, that the island was *once* covered with "*huge forests,*" and lamented how few vestiges are now to be seen, the major general very satisfactorily accounts for there being no possibility of trees springing up, while exposed to the ravages of numerous flocks of goats, sheep, &c. "Even the leaves of the old trees, when within reach, do not escape their ravages. The young trees having been in this manner cut off, and the parent trees having perished through age, it is no wonder there should be no succession; and this is the obvious cause, that, since the period of the introduction of goats, this formerly woody island has been **WHOLLY DENUDED.**"

When these extracts from authors of known credibility are compared with the fabulous description of the enchanting scenery given by the author of the "**FACTS,**" it will not appear unjust to infer, that his account has been taken from the history of a fictitious island, placed by the writer of *Oliver Cleveland* within five or six hours sail of St. Helena; and as several of my readers may not have access to so *good a library* as that of *Sir Hudson Lowe*, I will transcribe a few extracts from that romance, upon which the author seems to have founded his description of St. Helena, and the climate. "C'étoit une plaine dont la largeur étoit



d'environ quatre lieues, sur cinq ou six de longueur. Elle paroissoit environnée de tous côtés par des rochers semblables à celui que nous venions de traverser. Ils étoient moins hauts que roides et escarpés. La vue étoit ainsi bornée de toutes parts. Mais *l'univers n'a rien de plus agréable* que ce qui s'offrit à mes regards dans ce petit espace. Toute la campagne me *parut un jardin enchanté*. L'art et la nature sembloient réunis pour l'embellir. C'étoit *des allées d'arbres à perte de vue, de petits bois, un mélange bien ordonné de prairies et de terres cultivées*, des maisons d'un côté et de l'autre, qui se repondoient avec symétrie, et qui paroissoient aussi bien disposées pour le plaisir des yeux que pour la commodité des habitans.

“ Le soleil qui commençoit à répandre ses rayons donnoit un air si riant à toutes les parties de cette belle campagne, que je me crus, transporté dans un nouveau monde, et je ne pouvois rassasier l'avidité de mes regards.

“ La nature nous aide, car elle n'est nulle part plus liberale et plus féconde. Depuis tant d'années que notre établissement est formé, nous n'avons point connu d'autre saison qu'un continuel printemps, qui est toujours accompagné des richesses de l'automne\*.”

As another proof of the excellence of the climate, and health of the inhabitants (vide page 89), the author states, that, “ *the figure of a girl of fif-*

\* Histoire d'Oliver Cleveland, par l'Abbé Prevost, p. 290.

*teen in St. Helena, is that of a mother at thirty any where else \* !*" It is for the most superficial reader to say, whether a stronger proof of the deleterious effect of a climate on the human frame could well be cited.

It is also worth while comparing the author's description of "the abundance of beautiful pasture, a country most beautifully fertile for miles on every side, thickly studded with highly cultivated farms, views almost unequalled for boldness of scenery, richness of foliage, verdure, cultivation, well stocked farms," with what this rival of his prototype, Oliver Cleveland, discloses in page 93, *viz.* "The price of every article of consumption is at least three hundred per cent. dearer than in England; and, as far as provisions are concerned, five hundred per cent. dearer than in India. In Madras a sheep will cost about half a crown, in St. Helena the price of a *consumptive duck* is *ten shillings!*" and afterwards, "that a captain in the navy, WHILE ON THIS IRKSOME STATION, where neither credit nor profit can accrue to him, should be obliged to consolidate half a week's income in

\* The description given by the author of the beauty of the St. Helena ladies, appears to have been suggested by the following passage in Cleveland.

"Il est vrai que nos filles sont des créatures toutes parfaites; il semble que la nature en les formant, mette en charmes tout ce qu'elle auroit dû employer de plus pour produire un garçon." Histoire de Cleveland, vol. i, p. 298.



the purchase of a roasted turkey and couple of boiled fowls !”

The above palpable proofs of this writer's bare-faced inconsistencies, remind me of the sophisticated remarks contained in page 56 of his “FACTS,” wherein he states, “that it must have been a very highly favoured general, of great interest and personal connection with the continental crowned heads, who would, in addition to such a retreat, have received from his king a stipend of little less than twenty thousand pounds per annum to maintain an establishment.” Although this may appear somewhat plausible at first sight, let us dispassionately examine the question. Is not Napoleon son in law to the Emperor of Austria; and is he not related by ties of consanguinity to almost all the sovereigns of Europe; amongst others, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England? As to the stipend of twenty thousand pounds per annum, from the author's own admission, “the price of every article of consumption is at least *three hundred per cent.* dearer than in England;” that stipend, which he thinks so liberal, is reduced to six thousand seven hundred pounds per annum.

In page 87 the author states, that, “since Bonaparte's detention the East India Company have established stores, whence the military and others are supplied with all articles of English and Indian produce, at a *moderate rate.*” This is also a misrepresentation, as the stores in question were

established long before Napoleon was born. In page 91 he states, that the price of every article of life in the island is *exorbitant*. In page 80, he also asserts, the inhabitants of the country (*i. e.* St. Helena), are in general greatly benefited by the arrival of the *detenus*, troops, &c. It is an undeniable fact, that the residence of Napoleon on the island has caused incalculable mischief to the East India Company, and to the greatest part of the inhabitants, besides costing about FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING, if not more, annually to the English nation, to defray the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the garrison, a numerous staff, a seventy-four and large naval squadron, the enormous cost of transport, wear and tear of ships, and Napoleon's household; not forgetting the many new places created, and sinecures enjoyed by favourites; amongst others, two situations, amounting to about one thousand eight hundred pounds annually, by Sir Thomas Reade, who is deputy adjutant general and inspector of police, and that of Lieutenant Colonel Lyster, of about one thousand pounds, Mr. Baxter and Lieutenant Colonel Wynyard, about one thousand pounds each, &c. &c. &c. I should but ill discharge my duty to the public were I to omit observing, that Brigadier General Sir George Bingham, second in command, and Lieutenant Colonel of the 53d regiment, only received about one thousand four hundred pounds per annum, while Sir Thomas Reade, a captain in the 27th regiment, enjoys salaries amounting to one



thousand eight hundred pounds per annum, besides other advantages !!

Had the remarks contained in page 95, on the dearness and scarcity of provisions, with the extreme hardship of obliging naval officers to exist on their ordinary pay, while that of the army is nearly doubled, originated in any other source than the author of these "FACTS," it is reasonable to hope, they would have excited that degree of attention, to which they are so justly entitled. Strange as it may appear, I perfectly coincide with the writer on the above interesting subject; and by way of an attempt to obtain a little credit for the modern Munchausen, I am induced to add this singular fact; a young gentleman named Wardle, a midshipman in his Majesty's ship *Racoon*, who was in 1817 gazzetted to an ensigncy in the 66th regiment, quartered at St. Helena, upon disembarking to join that corps, was in the receipt of as much pay as the captain of the ship from which he had been just discharged; and that, according to the St. Helena regulations, an army lieutenant of seven years standing receives more pay in one month, than a lieutenant of the navy's quarterly bill for three months !!!

It is necessary to state, that the army enjoy the same advantages in procuring stock and provisions from the Cape of Good Hope as are granted to the navy. A certain portion of tonnage being allotted in the storeships and transports to the former, equivalent to that of the navy.

Although I have no longer the honour of belonging to the naval service, I do not on that account feel less zealously attached to the real interests of my country; interests which can never be so well consulted, or securely maintained, as in cherishing and rewarding the only legitimate, and by far the most powerful source of our national greatness, wealth, and prosperity!

In page 97, the author, with equal confidence and falsehood, points out a gentleman as having written the Letters from St. Helena, and whom he describes as being a lieutenant upon the half pay of our navy. In his usual strain of calumny he proceeds to traduce that individual's character by asserting, that he violated his parole of honour, while a prisoner of war in France. This is a gross misrepresentation, as the presumed author was, at the time he describes, closely confined at Bitche, and *not on his parole*. It was also from Bitche that he effected his escape. He is moreover a person of too much honour to purchase his liberty by a breach of parole, or to compromise his honour by retailing such falsehoods and scurrility as are to be found in almost every page of the "FACTS."

As the author of the "FACTS" has not refuted a single assertion made in the Letters from St. Helena, for a very excellent reason, namely, that the facts contained in them are incontrovertible, and the details authentic and correct, though he has endeavoured to cavil at some passages, and to make it appear, that because Napoleon was in tole-



rable health in July, 1817, he must necessarily have been equally so in April, 1818, joined with some scurrilous attacks and insinuations against Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, I shall not waste any farther time on his observations upon that pamphlet, except to state, that the assertion in page 107, in *italics, viz.*, "he gave the gunner an order upon London for the amount immediately," is a deliberate falsehood, as Sir Hudson Lowe *withheld* Count Bertrand's order for three hundred pounds from the gunner, sent it to the secretary of state's office, and merely gave the man a *certificate*, that he had received a bill of such an amount for him. The consequence was, that he did not receive the bill for *fourteen months* afterwards, at which time the funds, which had been deposited in the hands of the person it was drawn upon, were *exhausted*, and *the bill was protested*.

In page 119, he denies the truth of a letter which appeared in the Morning Chronicle, stating that persons have been prohibited from speaking to Madame Bertrand; and asserts, in proof of his assertion, that he saw Lieutenant Jackson of the staff corps, Doctor Verling of the artillery, and Captain Nichols of the 66th, walking with Madame Bertrand. These officers are privileged persons, and all three attached to Longwood, by order of Sir Hudson Lowe; *viz.* Doctor Verling, as surgeon, Captain Nicols, as orderly officer, and Lieutenant Jackson, as superintendant of works erecting there. What other employments this last named

gentleman may enjoy at Longwood, at present, I know not; at my departure from St. Helena, one was to attend upon the French officers when they went to James' Town. I am also credibly informed, and believe it to be true, that Madame Bertrand has made a remonstrance to Sir Hudson Lowe about the officers of the 66th regiment having been prohibited to speak to her. Moreover, before my departure from the island, Lieutenant Colonel Lascelles interdicted divers officers of that regiment from holding any intercourse with the French. A tradesman cannot present his account, or the *washerwoman her bill*, without their having first undergone an inspection and examination by the Governor himself, or some of his agents; nor can the English servants, *male or female*, belonging to the establishment, bring to their *masters or mistresses* the most trifling articles they have purchased by their direction in the town; without their having gone through the ceremony of being inspected by the orderly officer, and sometimes by the Adjutant General, Sir Thomas Reade; the same degrading ceremony must be observed in sending every thing from Longwood to the town, or elsewhere; from which not even the clothes of the ladies, when going to the wash, are exempted: those of Countess Bertrand have been examined by Sir Thomas Reade in a manner, which would, I am sure, have been repugnant to the feelings of a Prussian corporal.

In page 124, Sir Hudson Lowe is made by



his panegyrist to utter a fine sentiment in *Italian* to Napoleon, and in the note it is asserted that Napoleon and the Governor *always* conversed in that language. Both these assertions are untrue; Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe never conversed in Italian, except at the first interviews of the four or five, which Sir Hudson Lowe has held with him; and as to the torrent of abuse against the *English nation*, which is attributed to Napoleon, if his telling Sir Hudson Lowe, that, “by the act of the English Parliament it was decreed that he should be treated as a *prisoner of war*, but that he (Sir Hudson) treated him worse than a *galley slave*, or a condemned criminal, as the latter were permitted to receive newspapers, or any printed books they might wish to obtain, which Sir Hudson Lowe would not permit *him* to have,”—was a torrent of the grossest scurrility on England and its inhabitants, what I have just related certainly comes under the above denomination. A gallant and highly distinguished naval officer was *present* at this interview.

In page 120, the author of the “FACTS” takes leave of his readers, by assuring them that, on a re-examination of his statements, he sees no one fact recorded, which is not *on the best authority*; his subsequent appeals to credibility are doubtless of a very powerful nature, in his own estimation; but in alluding to the publications which have appeared, relative to the transactions at St. Helena, he should have admitted, that a part of what he designates

under the epithet of falsehoods, were contained in official statements prepared at Longwood, under Napoleon's own eyes; and although I cannot think it possible for the public to allow such an "anonymous defence" as his to influence its final judgment upon the important question of the fallen Emperor's detention and treatment, I am reluctantly prevented from also terminating these remarks, by a desire to put the nation in possession of some more details, connected with the system of government established by Sir Hudson Lowe, which are, as observed in a former page, not only intended to serve as a reply to all this author's panegyrics on the lieutenant general's *amiable* qualifications, but in answer to the gratuitous observations contained in page 121 of the "FACTS," where this writer's almost unprecedented effort to deceive his country is crowned by a statement, "That the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte in St. Helena, so far from being capricious or annoying, is in every respect (with proper regard to his security) mild and gentle; that, as I have shown, the minutest attention is paid to the most trifling of his whims and fancies; that, as I think I have satisfactorily proved, his table is abundantly and luxuriously supplied: his stables filled with the best horses in the island,—that every accommodation is afforded to him in his residence, which is pleasant and commodious."

Having perused the foregoing paragraph, matchless for effrontery and falsehood, the reader is ear-



nestly requested to keep it in mind, while he accompanies me in the following detached particulars, selected from that mass of materials which my residence in St. Helena enabled me to collect.

In July, 1816, Mr. Hobhouse sent a copy of his work upon France to Lieutenant General Sir Hudson Lowe, with a request that it might be presented to Napoleon. It was however withheld, and concealed from the latter's knowledge until a discovery of the circumstance was made by an officer of rank, who had seen the book accidentally at Plantation House. Finding concealment no longer possible, Sir Hudson Lowe then said, "that he had detained it, because it had not passed through the Secretary of State's office\*, and also because *Lord Castlereagh's political conduct was freely censured in it*; Sir Hudson Lowe observed, "that he had no idea of allowing General Bonaparte to *know*, that works of such a nature were permitted to be printed and sold in England, much less to allow *him* to peruse a publication in which *Lord Castlereagh was spoken ill of*." The discovery made of the transaction by the gallant

\* I have been informed, that, on some occasions, when applications have been made to Earl Bathurst in this country to send out presents and other little articles to the French at Longwood, his lordship has replied, that nothing more was necessary than to send them to Sir Hudson Lowe, who would, without any interference of his lordship or his office, forward them to the persons for whom they were destined. The fate they were likely to meet *there* may be judged from that which Mr. Hobhouse's book experienced.

officer alluded to was purely accidental and without guile: having seen the work upon the table at Plantation House, and heard there, that it had been sent by the author for Napoleon, he mentioned the circumstance unthinkingly at Longwood in the course of conversation, not supposing that the Governor of St. Helena would have deprived his prisoner of the slender satisfaction which he might derive from the perusal of a work, that gave due credit to his military talents. This piece of inadvertence, however, was considered by Sir Hudson Lowe to be of so heinous a nature, as to cause him to make a report of the affair, unknown to the officer, to Lord Bathurst, in which the conduct of the person complained of was represented in a most disadvantageous light, as may be inferred from the declarations triumphantly made by both Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade to divers passengers on their way to England, who made inquiries about the officer in question. "Oh, Colonel ———; he is done for; when you arrive in England you may find him there, but, by G—, you will not find his name on the army list." Fortunately, however, the present illustrious commander in chief does not allow himself to be influenced by such characters, and the gallant officer still remains upon the list of that army, of which he is a distinguished ornament, as the many honourable wounds he has received in the service of his country bear ample testimony. A similar report, to the discredit of an artillery officer, was



also made by Sir Hudson Lowe, because he had presumed to listen to Las Cases reading an extract of Count Montholon's letter of the 23d of August, 1816, and was attended with a similar result.

When merchant ships arrive at St. Helena from England, the captains are obliged to submit a list of all their books, pamphlets, &c., to Sir Hudson Lowe, and all books of a political nature are specifically required to be sent to him, before they are permitted to expose them for sale. The whole of the copies of interesting works, particularly any numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, are bought up by Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade, pretending, sometimes, that they are purchased for the use of Napoleon, but in reality to deprive him of any possibility of procuring them, as occurred on the arrival of the *Mangles*\* and *Phœnix* store ships, on

\* In this instance *five* copies of *one work* were bought by Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade, from Captain Bunn of the *Mangles*, pretending that so many were purchased for the purpose of sending two or three of them to "Bonaparte," to whom it is almost unnecessary to say, not a *single one of them was ever sent*.

Since the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe at St. Helena, in April, 1816, at which time some cases of books were brought out in the *Phaeton*, until the end of August, 1818, only *thirty-four* volumes of books have been sent out by the British Government to Longwood, and *no* French newspapers of any description whatsoever. Amongst the above mentioned *thirty-four* volumes sent out as *new* publications, several consisted of works published during the time Napoleon was seated upon *the throne of France*. Whether this proceeded from inadver-

the 6th and 7th of June, 1818. They are in a similar manner, and for the same reasons, compelled to deliver to the Governor, or his agents, whatever newspapers they may have in their possession on their arrival at the island. Even the newspapers sent out by his Majesty's Government were first examined by Sir Hudson Lowe, and only such as he pleased sent to Longwood, sometimes withholding the numbers for ten or twelve days in succession. This fact I personally ascertained at Plantation House and at Longwood. Newspapers arriving for British individuals were seized at the post office, and taken to the Governor, and no person was allowed to lend them books or newspapers. I was myself prohibited, by Sir Hudson Lowe, from lending them any, or communicating to Napóleon, or the members of his suite, any information derived by me from books\*

tence and inattention, or was a scurvy piece of wit, on the part of some of the underlings of Lord Bathurst's office, is left for the reader to decide; Napoleon merely observed, "*c'est une bassesse dont je ne croyais pas même Lord Bathurst capable.*"

\* Sir Hudson Lowe also endeavoured to compel me to make him a report of every book I purchased, or received; and on the 12th of September, 1817, spoke to me in a manner very unusual amongst gentlemen for having in my possession the following pamphlets, without acquainting him, *viz.*

The British Ladies Magazine.....January, 1817.  
 New Monthly Magazine.....January, 1817.  
 European Magazine.....December, 1816.



and newspapers, on pain of being considered a “bearer of unauthorized communications” (which by one of his proclamations he had rendered *felony*), and punished accordingly\*.

Articles of dress, &c., for the use of Napoleon and his suite, and ordered in London, through the channel of Sir Hudson Lowe, were not sent up to Longwood, until several weeks had elapsed after their arrival at St. Helena, as occurred in the instances of the Mangles and Lady Carrington store ships, when cases, brought out by the former vessel on the 7th of June, were not sent to Longwood until late in July following; and some brought by the latter on the 28th of June (all of them containing articles of which the French were much in want) not until the 30th of July, notwithstanding that frequent applications had been made to get them sent up.

The workmen, sent out by his Majesty’s Government for Longwood, were taken away before they had half finished their work, for the accommodation of Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir Thomas Reade,

Eclectic Review .....January, 1817.

Gentleman’s Magazine.....December, 1816.

Monthly Review.....December, 1816.

Ackerman’s Repository.....January, 1817.

All of which he obliged me to send forthwith to his own house, where they *have been since detained*.

\* This curious document in which the Governor of St. Helena has assumed the authority of Parliament, will be found in the Appendix.

and others; so that jobs, which would only require a few days to execute them, were not finished for many months, as occurred in the instance of a "*fauteuil de malade*," demanded for Napoleon on the 28th of October, 1816, and only finished in May, 1818. Several of the moveables, and other articles sent by his Majesty's Government, for the use of Napoleon, consisting of sofas, wardrobes, sets of washing apparatus, bedsteads, curtains, beds, chairs, were seen at Plantation House and the Alarm House, and *a dozen of the shirts, sent out for the personal wear of Napoleon, were seen, in 1816, in the possession of a person generally supposed to be a relation of Sir Hudson Lowe's.*

It should be recorded, that these circumstances occurred at a time when the French were purchasing, at an enormous price, articles of a similar nature.

The eagerness with which every opportunity of depriving Napoleon of any object which might tend to beguile the hours of his imprisonment is seized, may be conceived by the perusal of the following fact. Napoleon, during his illness, occasionally solaced himself by looking through a spy glass, out of the windows of his room. Being desirous of preserving uninjured the telescope, which had been his companion at the battles of Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, Wagram, &c., in order to bequeath it to his son, he desired me to purchase the best glass I could procure for him, as soon as the store ships, which were



daily expected, arrived from England. In June, 1818, I saw a very handsome brass one, mounted upon a stand, and consequently well adapted for the use of an invalid, at a shop which had been opened a few days before, by Captain Thompson, of the store ship *Phoenix*; I examined it, and told the proprietor, that I would purchase it, provided it was approved of at Longwood. Upon my return there, I informed Napoleon I had procured a glass, which I thought would be found suitable in every respect; and the following morning, the maître d'hôtel made an agreement to purchase it for sixteen pounds, and ordered it to be sent to a tradesman to be cleaned, and the glasses placed in proper order. In order to deprive Napoleon of this trifling article, Sir Thomas Reade\* offered, clandestinely, an addition of four pounds to the price agreed on by the maître d'hôtel, and thereby procured the telescope for the Governor; at the same time prohibiting the vender from revealing the name of the purchaser.

The manner in which Sir Hudson Lowe communicated to Madame Bertrand the intelligence of her mother's death, will also enable the reader duly

\* In December, 1816, it was *humanely* suggested by this gentleman, that it would be right to deprive Napoleon of his books, if he did not comply with the Governor's wishes. This occurred when Napoleon had answered the application made to him from Sir Hudson Lowe to receive the visits of some of his favourites, by pertinently observing, "*Les gens qui sont dans un tombeau ne reçoivent pas de visites!*"

to appreciate the character of this “excellent man,” “in whose heart valour, friendship, and charity, flourish.” When the news of the above event first arrived at St. Helena, Madame Bertrand (then pregnant, and who had suffered severely before from the effects of a *fausse couche*) was not in a fit state to support such afflicting intelligence. A *professional* representation to this effect was officially made by me to Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied with a request from Count Bertrand, that, until the Countess’s mind should be properly prepared for the communication of the melancholy event, all letters arriving from Europe, for himself or her, should no longer be sent to his house, but left at the orderly officer’s quarters, who would send for the Count, and deliver them privately to him, in order thus to prevent Madame Bertrand from getting acquainted with the arrival of letters, and consequently demanding to see their contents. Sir Hudson Lowe was also informed by me, that intimation should be given to him, when it was thought that Madame Bertrand was *sufficiently prepared to have the matter broken* to her. A similar request was also made to Sir Hudson Lowe by the orderly officer, on the part of Count Bertrand. Sir Hudson Lowe complied with this intreaty, until the period of Baron Stürmer the Austrian commissioner’s departure, from St. Helena, for Europe. The Baroness Stürmer is a young and beautiful Frenchwoman, and Madame Bertrand (who had not seen her for a considerable



time) publicly declared her intentions of paying that lady a farewell visit, prior to her departure, which was to take place in a few days. At this time (26th of June, 1818) the Lady Carrington store ship arrived at St. Helena, on board of which was a young woman, named Mary Hall, who (with the permission of Lord Bathurst) had been sent out by Lady Jerningham to her niece, Madame Bertrand, as an upper servant. She was the bearer of an open letter from Lady Jerningham to the Countess, in the beginning of which the death of the latter's mother was mentioned, as a subject of no novelty. Sir Hudson Lowe took this letter from the young woman, read, enclosed, and *addressed it, with his own hand, to Madame Bertrand*, and it was delivered to *her* in the *absence of her husband!* To describe the shock produced by the sudden and abrupt communication of the death of an idolized mother, upon the unprepared mind of a daughter, possessed of such exquisite sensibility, and in a state of great debility from previous illness, is a task, which I feel myself wholly unequal to perform; suffice it to say, that violent fits of hysterics, threatening her very existence\*, and a severe illness, of several days continuance, were the consequences; and by the effects of which she was confined to her house at the time of my departure. It

\* Fortunately, Madame Bertrand had miscarried a second time, a few days before. I say, fortunately, as had that event not occurred, in all probability the consequences produced by such an abrupt communication would have been fatal.

is almost needless for me to add, that the amiable sufferer's *intended visit to Madame Stürmer was thus most effectually frustrated.*

Persons found guilty of civility, or expressions of compassion for the captives, were subsequently visited with severe marks of displeasure, of which many instances could be produced. The following will assist the reader in forming a just idea of the system which is carried on in that ill-fated island. Captain Cook, of his Majesty store ship *Tortoise*, arrived at St. Helena, from England, in March, 1817, a period during which the French were on short allowance. Some time after his arrival, he obtained a pass with some difficulty, and paid a visit to Madame Bertrand. A day or two afterwards he sent up a present to Longwood, consisting of three English hams and a keg of American biscuits\*; a few days subsequent to this act of politeness, he dined at Mr. Balcombe's house in the country, in company with Sir Thomas Reade, who he requested after dinner to furnish him with the countersign, without which no person in St. Helena could pass after nine o'clock. The Adjutant General, who, it is almost needless to say, prepares all paroles and watchwords, purposely gave Captain Cook a *false* countersign, with the design, as he boasted the following day, of getting "the d——d fellow, who had given the biscuit to Madame Bertrand, seized by the sentinels, and lodged in the

\* At this time, the bread which was sent to Longwood was of a very bad quality.



guard room, with the soldiers, for the night." Fortunately for Captain Cook, however, a gentleman (Mr. Berry) happened to be present, who had occasion to return by the same road, and who had procured the *real* countersign from the Town Major, which completely foiled this intended piece of malice on the part of the Adjutant General. A respectable gentleman, Mr. Prince, was turned off the island, and compelled to abandon his agency, the share he had in the goods of two large shops, and several debts to a great amount, because he had been unfortunate enough to furnish Madame Bertrand with some necessaries upon credit, and had accommodated General Bertrand with one hundred and fifty pounds, in sums not greater than twenty-five pounds at a time, although permission to lend that sum had been previously received *both* from Sir George Cockburn and Sir Hudson Lowe himself\*.

Sir Hudson Lowe's conduct towards Count Las Cases, after his departure from St. Helena, well deserves to be recorded. After the Count's arrest, and during the time he was held in confinement by the Governor, the latter requested him to enumerate the hardships complained of by the inhabitants at Longwood, which the Count accordingly committed to paper. When about to leave the island,

\* I have been informed that this gentleman, who is purser of the honourable company's ship Orwell, was not permitted to go on shore in February last, when his ship touched at St. Helena, to recover debts to a large amount!

he proposed to Sir Hudson Lowe, that, as the statement he had written was unknown to the French at Longwood, it was essential, for the purposes of justice, that they should be fully acquainted with it, at the same time that its contents were made known to Sir Hudson Lowe himself. To this end, he proposed, that the statement containing the grievances at Longwood should be sealed up and sent to Brigadier General Sir George Bingham, upon the express condition, that it should be communicated with equal impartiality and simultaneously to Sir Hudson Lowe and the prisoners at Longwood. This was agreed to by both parties, and Sir Hudson Lowe pledged his honour to Count Bertrand and Count Las Cases, in the presence (if I am not mistaken) of Sir George Bingham, that it should be punctually executed. Soon after the Count's departure, Sir Hudson Lowe obtained possession of the manuscript, which he opened and read, taking care, however, not to communicate a syllable of its contents to any of the inhabitants of Longwood. Availing himself of the information, thus clandestinely obtained, he had recourse to an artifice, perfectly consistent with the usual system pursued in St. Helena. He directed me to inform Napoleon, that Count de Las Cases, while in detention, had confessed that the French were very well treated; that they had only *moral* restrictions to complain of; and that both himself and the rest of the French in Napoleon's suite, had made a practice of poisoning their master's mind against him, by calumnies and misrepresentations; adding, that the fact was



indisputable, as he had the acknowledgment of it in Count Las Cases's own hand writing, of which he quoted a sentence, which he desired me to repeat to Napoleon, *viz.* "We had made the Emperor see every thing *par une voile de sang*" (through a sanguinary medium). On hearing this, Napoleon immediately replied, "*Ma foi, quand on voit le bourreau, on voit toujours du sang!*" adding, with that acuteness of discernment which forms so conspicuous a feature in his character, "that his opinion was, either that the whole was a fabrication of Sir Hudson Lowe's, or else that he had misrepresented and garbled some passages in Count de Las Cases's letter. That the Count most undoubtedly had felt much grieved at the treatment he witnessed, as he was a man possessed of a feeling and sensible heart, and one who had always REPRESENTED THE ENGLISH NATION TO HIM IN THE MOST ENTHUSIASTIC TERMS OF ADMIRATION. That he had certainly expressed himself freely upon beholding conduct so opposite to the liberality and generosity which he had always attributed to the British; but that the treatment inflicted was of so barbarous a nature, in itself, as not to need the comments of any person to point it out." The event fully proved the justness of the opinion which Napoleon had formed, as the only parts of the letter ever communicated to Longwood were the foregoing, together with the following extract, *viz.* "He (the Emperor) had wavered (*avoit flotté*) a long time after we had, on our parts, severely expressed ourselves as to your conduct," accompanied with accusations

in writing against Count de Las Cases, charging him with having confessed that he had purposely misrepresented the Governor's conduct. An ample and satisfactory account is given of this transaction in the Count's Letters, already quoted.

Notwithstanding an elaborate note in page 125-6, wherein the author describes the new house preparing for Napoleon under such favourable colours, I have no hesitation in saying, that it is placed in a situation nearly as bleak and exposed as that of the old *barn*; is equally destitute of shade or water; while the spot, chosen to erect it on, is decidedly contrary to the known desire of Napoleon, who, when applied to for his opinion on the subject by Sir Hudson Lowe, replied, through Generals Montholon, Bertrand, and myself, that, "if he intended to build a new house, let him build it in a place where there was shade, verdure, and water, and sheltered from the sharp trade wind." That the application, thus made to Napoleon, was a mere mockery, is evident from the result, which he had so clearly foreseen. Moreover, when finished, the insalubrity of a new and damp building will be united to all the local inconveniences of the old residence. In January last, Napoleon, who had not been out of the house for near six months before, walked out and viewed the new building constructing for him. After considering it with attention, he desired General Montholon to communicate to the orderly officer, that he would never inhabit it. "*Si elle est pour lui,*" said General Montholon to Captain Nichols, "*comme cela n'est pas*



*douteux, il me charge de vous déclarer qu'elle est tout à fait inconvenable et qu'il ne l'habitera jamais.'*

Had it been the intention of Sir Hudson Lowe, or Lord Bathurst, to have rendered Napoleon as comfortable as this wretched island might allow, he would have been accommodated either in Plantation House (the only good mansion on the island); or at least a house could have been built for him at Rosemary Hall, or Colonel Smith's, where there is some shade and water, and which are sheltered from the bleak South-east wind.

Napoleon, in consequence of the great sensibility of the membranes of his nose, fauces, &c. (a fact well known to all those who have ever been about his person), is extremely susceptible of catarrh, of which complaint he has had several attacks, some of a very violent nature. For this reason, the unsheltered and bleak situation of Longwood renders it most obviously an improper and unhealthy residence for him, as was evinced by the frequent severe colds, and other inflammatory affections, which he experienced when he did go out. The deleterious effects of the sharp trade wind even upon vegetable life, in exposed situations like Longwood, has been satisfactorily proved in page 33, on the authority of the actual senior member of the Council of St. Helena, and clearly manifests, that any attempt to procure shade *there*, by means of trees, must be fruitless.

Some remarkable occurrences, attendant upon my departure from St. Helena, tend so strongly to manifest the manner in which justice is administered in

that colony, that I feel it incumbent upon me to lay them before the public. While occupied, on the 25th of July, 1818, in preparing the medicines, which I left with Napoleon's valet de chambre, and in explaining to him the manner in which they should be administered to his master, Lieutenant Colonel Wynyard (Sir Hudson Lowe's military secretary) went to my apartments, and, without my knowledge, took upon himself to order my servants to pack up my effects, which they were compelled to do with the utmost precipitation, and in open trunks. On returning to my apartment, I put what money I had in gold, amounting to about two hundred pounds, in my pocket, and consigned six or seven hundred dollars to Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer, with a request that he would send them to me on the following morning. I also took two snuff boxes, given to me by Napoleon, and hung a valuable cameo to my watch chain. Several other articles of jewellery, some of considerable value, I put into my writing desk, in the presence of THREE witnesses, and then left Longwood, after having received a specific promise from Lieutenant Colonel Wynyard (to whom, in the presence of my servants, I had explained the insecure and open state of my trunks), that one of them should be permitted to remain with my baggage at Hut's Gate, farther than which, the Lieutenant Colonel informed me he would not allow it to be taken that night. Instead of this promise being fulfilled, the moment I departed from Longwood, Lieutenant Colonel Wyn-



yard galloped on to Hut's Gate, where he waited until the arrival of my baggage, which he compelled my servants to give up to some person in the government employ, and to proceed themselves to town forthwith, directing, however, one of them to return in the morning, with a promise that it should then be delivered to him. Accordingly the next day Jones, my groom, went up in obedience to these directions, and pursuant to a signal made to that effect from Plantation House; but, upon his arrival, instead of receiving my baggage, he was seized, thrown into the guard room, and imprisoned there, without being permitted even to *see* my property.

The following day I reported myself to Rear Admiral Plampin, by whose secretary (Mr. Elliot) I was informed, by the Admiral's directions, that I was to proceed to England in the Griffon sloop of war; permission was then given to me, by the Admiral, to remain on shore until that ship was ready to sail. On my return to town, being desirous to see whatever surgeon might be appointed to attend at Longwood, I wrote to Major Gorrequer, for the Governor's information, acquainting him that I had recommended to Napoleon four medical gentlemen, from amongst whom I had advised him to choose a surgeon. This letter was returned to me, *unopened*, the following morning. Soon after having despatched it, Mr. Weston, *the gaoler of the common prison of the island*, came and informed me, that he was ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe, "to

*see me off the island in an hour's time, and that I must not proceed farther up the town than the spot on which I was then standing."* I demanded his authority; he showed me a written order to that effect, of which he allowed me to take a copy, and which he attested himself\*. No farther communication with any friend was allowed me; and a signal having been made for a lieutenant of the Griffon, I proceeded on board of that vessel, guarded by the gaoler, and dogged by two police spies, after having preferred a complaint to Mr. Brooke, the actual senior member of council, against the illegality of the measures adopted towards me.

The following morning I received intimation, that my baggage had been secretly rummaged, and my papers examined at Hut's Gate. None of my creditors or debtors were allowed access to me, nor was I permitted to proceed on shore to them, in order to settle my accounts; and an officer of the 66th regiment, who (by application of Brigadier General Sir George Bingham to the Governor) was allowed to transact my affairs, was not permitted to come on board, in order to obtain the necessary information for that purpose from me. Several of the army officers, and of the most respectable inhabitants, who applied for permission to come on board to see me, were refused with asperity and menaces; but as it was not in Sir Hudson Lowe's power to prevent naval officers

\* A copy of this order will be found in the Appendix, No. X; also of the letter written to Mr. Brooke, No. XI.



from visiting me, he was obliged to content himself with placing a spy on Ladder Hill, with orders to report the names of all the persons who visited the Griffon, amongst whom were to be found nearly the whole of the officers of the squadron, of all ranks.

On Tuesday, the 28th, after having been kept three days destitute of clothes, part of my baggage was sent to me. Upon opening my writing desk, in the presence of Lieutenant Parker, of the Griffon, I found that advantage had been taken, while it was in the custody of the Governor's agents, in whose possession it remained from the time Lieutenant Colonel Wynyard took charge of it, until delivered to my servant, on the 27th instant, in the presence of Lieutenants Codd and Reardon, of the 66th regiment, TO TAKE OUT OF IT ALL THE JEWELLERY, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A CORNELIAN NECKLACE OF TRIFLING VALUE.

After having minutely examined my trunks, I wrote the following letter to Rear Admiral Plampin.

H. M. Ship Griffon, 30th July, 1818.

SIR;

It is with considerable regret that I feel myself obliged to address you upon the losses which I have sustained, in consequence of the unprecedented and arbitrary proceedings which have been adopted towards me by the civil authority of St. Helena.

My baggage, which, by Lieutenant Colonel

Wynyard's directions was removed from Longwood, on Saturday, the 25th, at eight o'clock at night, was taken to Hut's Gate, detained there until Monday, my servants forced away from it (notwithstanding Colonel Wynyard's promise of the contrary at Longwood, and although he was informed that there were no locks upon my trunks, &c. &c.), clandestinely rummaged, my writing desk opened, and plundered of the following valuable articles, *viz.* a gold watch chain and several gold seals and key, a very valuable carved onyx brooch set in gold, a gold hand-shaped ditto, a valuable brilliant, a gold ring set with diamonds, one with aqua marina, another with a cat's eye; and other articles of jewellery, &c., to a large amount; some of them being inestimable to me, in consequence of having received them as presents.

What losses in money I may have sustained I know not, as I am ignorant of the number of dollars I possessed\*.

I cannot pretend, Sir, to judge of the intentions of those who countenanced such perpetrations; but I conceive, that every principle of probity would have ordained, that, if an examination was deemed necessary, such should have taken place, either in my own presence, my servant's, or of some person authorized by me; and that one of my

\* It is not meant to be insinuated, that Captain Blakeney had any share in the above transactions, farther than taking charge of and remitting the money which was received by Lieutenant Reardon, 66th regiment.



domestics ought to have been allowed to remain with my effects, after they had been removed from Longwood.

I forbear to mention the severe losses which I have sustained, in consequence of the precipitate mode in which I was hurried off the island, the insulting manner of it, and the general arbitrary and barbarous treatment, which I have suffered; but I have thought it my duty to lay before you, Sir, as commander in chief of the service to which I belong, the foregoing slight sketch of some of the losses I have sustained; more especially, as a letter I have addressed to Major Gorrequer, Acting Military Secretary, has been *returned to me unopened*; and I am bound to conclude thereby, that any further remonstrance, or complaint, on my part, would meet with similar treatment.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BARRY E. O'MEARA,

Surgeon R. N.

*To Rear Admiral Plampin, Commander  
in Chief, &c. St. Helena.*

#### REPLY.

Admiral's Office, St. Helena, 30th July,  
quarter before three, P. M.

SIR;

I have this moment received your letter, of this day's date, complaining of certain

losses you have sustained, in consequence of your baggage not having been taken proper care of, when removing from Longwood; also complaining of the mode in which you were sent off the island; for neither of which circumstances can I consider myself responsible. I have, however, caused a copy of your letter to be taken, which I shall instantly enclose to his Excellency the Governor.

I cannot conclude this, without expressing my surprize, that you should not have made this communication to me sooner, more especially as the departure of the Griffon has been hourly expected to take place ever since yesterday noon.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ROB. PLAMPIN,

Rear Admiral, Commander in Chief.

*To Mr. Barry O'Meara, late Surgeon to  
General Bonaparte, H. M. S. Griffon.*

On receipt of the above, I addressed another letter to the Rear Admiral, and of which the following is a copy:—

H. M. Ship Griffon, St. Helena,  
30th July, 1818, four P. M.

SIR;

In explanation, I have the honour to inform you, that the delay in forwarding to you the statement, detailed in my letter of this day's date,



was caused by my servant (who is a material evidence), not having been permitted to come on board until mid-day yesterday, at which time also the remainder of my luggage arrived, the examination of which on board, in order to ascertain if any of the articles, supposed to be stolen, had been, during the rummaging, thrown into the other trunks, took up a considerable time, as I did not like to hazard any assertion which was not founded upon fact.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon R. N.

*To Rear Admiral Plampin,  
Commander in Chief, &c.*

On the 31st I was summoned on shore, by the following letter, to attend a court of inquiry, which had been ordered to sit at the Castle.

St. Helena, 31st July, 1818.

SIR ;

Rear Admiral Plampin having referred to the consideration of the Governor a letter you have addressed to him, dated 31st July, stating certain losses which you mention to have sustained on the occasion of the removal of your baggage from Longwood to the town, I am directed by his Excellency the Governor to inform you, that the acting magistrate, who is now sitting, will receive

your deposition of the facts stated in your letter to the admiral.

The civil officer, who will deliver this letter to you, will accompany you to the Castle, where the magistrate is now sitting.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

THOMAS H. BROOKE,  
Secretary to Government.

*To Barry O'Meara, Esq.*

Scarcely had I proceeded half way up the marino, in obedience to this summons, ere I was arrested by a sentinel, who had orders to that effect from Sir Hudson Lowe, and detained until released by Town Major Cole, although I was accompanied by the civil officer, who brought the summons. At the castle I was interrogated on oath by the acting magistrate, and my answers taken down in writing, BUT A COPY OF MY DEPOSITION WAS, BY ORDER OF SIR HUDSON LOWE, REFUSED TO BE GIVEN TO ME, and my servant, who applied for a copy of his, received a similar answer. Whether any steps may have been taken for the recovery of my property, or to discover and punish the delinquents, I know not, as I have never received any farther intelligence on the subject. A copy of the affidavit made by my servant, on his arrival in London, will be found in the Appendix, No. XII.



Independent of the loss caused by the above mentioned robbery, I sustained another of upwards of two hundred pounds, in consequence of not having been permitted to enter into explanations with my creditors, relative to many articles of necessaries, which I had bought for the inmates of Longwood, but which had been charged to my account\*.

Notwithstanding the silence which has been so scrupulously maintained by the authorities to whom the plunder of my effects was represented, I do not despair of obtaining ultimate satisfaction, much less abandon my claims to the protection of those laws, which have been so glaringly violated by some persons still unknown; but whom I shall take the most effectual means within my reach of exposing to legal punishment, and holding up to that public scorn, which their infamous conduct so justly merits.

Such are a few specimens of the system established by Sir Hudson Lowe in St. Helena, forming but a small part of those which might be cited to illustrate the character of one, whom the author of the "FACTS" represents as "a being not only amiable in the highest degree in private life and general society, but, with a rigid sense of duty, feelingly alive to the peculiar situation of his prisoner, and actively employed in the contrivance of comforts for him!" With the foregoing details,

\* As I was not allowed to enter into explanations with the parties, I preferred paying some of the bills myself, rather than run the risk of making an improper charge.

and the observations which I have felt myself called upon to accompany them, before the public, there are ample materials whereon to ground its final decision. I should therefore have thought it high time to close these Remarks, already extended far beyond the original intention, were it not that the importance of the subject, and a desire to make the nation fully acquainted with all the circumstances, having any relation to a matter in which its character for honour and humanity is deeply involved, induces me to communicate some highly important information, that has recently arrived in England from the scene of Napoleon's imprisonment.

Since my compulsory removal from the island, in July, 1818, until January, 1819, an interruption of the medical treatment of Napoleon for five months took place, as he would not receive the surgeon attempted to be imposed upon him by Sir Hudson Lowe. Subsequently to that period General Montholon's agent in London has received a copy of a note addressed by him to Sir Hudson Lowe, dated the 19th of January, 1819\*, and some bulletins, and other official documents, with a perusal of which he has favoured me. By these it appears, that Napoleon had four or five times experienced symptoms foreboding an attack of apoplexy in the course of different nights; and on the 17th of January last, one of so alarming a nature, that they

\* A copy of this important document will be found in the Appendix, No. XIV.



imagined, for a moment, dissolution had taken place. Upon his reviving a little, Count Bertrand proposed to him to call in Dr. Verling, which he refused, "*cette seule proposition* (says General Montholon in his note to Sir Hudson Lowe) *altera sa phisionomie et accrut le mal dans le moment.*" General Bertrand then called in Mr. Stokoe at one o'clock in the morning, he did not arrive until *four* hours afterwards, as the orderly officer was not authorized to send for him, without asking leave of the Governor. Then the admiral, who lived a mile and a half from the town, was to be consulted, and his permission obtained prior to sending on board the Conqueror for the surgeon, which added greatly to the delay. On the latter's arrival at Longwood, he proceeded to Count Bertrand, who proposed (as Napoleon was very ill) that Mr. Stokoe should replace me as surgeon to Napoleon, and submitted to him the seven following articles (which were also sent to the Governor).

TRANSLATION.

*Articles to replace Mr. O'Meara, and give Mr. Stokoe the character of surgeon to Napoleon.*

1st. Doctor Stokoe is considered as surgeon to Napoleon, and as filling the place of the French surgeon, mentioned in the decree of the British Government, dated the 15th of August, 1815.

2d. He is not to be taken away without the consent of Napoleon, at least by a simple order of the

Governor, and especially as long as the disease continues.

3d. During the time that he fulfils the functions of physician, he is not to be subjected to any military discipline or duty, but to be considered as an Englishman, holding a civil employment.

4th. He is not to be obliged to render an account to any person of the state of Napoleon's health. He will write every eight days, or oftener if necessary, a bulletin of Napoleon's health; of which he is to make two copies, one to be given to one of the officers at Longwood, and the other to the Governor, whenever he desires it.

5th. No person whatsoever is to intermeddle in his medical functions, and no restrictions upon his communications with Napoleon and the French, either by writing or verbally, by day or by night, are to be imposed upon him.

6th. He is not to be obliged to render an account of what he sees or hears at Longwood, unless any thing which, in his judgment, might compromise his oath of allegiance to his country and his sovereign.

7th. Doctor Stokoe engages to serve Napoleon in his profession, independent of all prejudice or party spirit, and as if he were his own countryman; and not to make any bulletin or report of his complaints, without giving him the original.

8th. In accepting these conditions, Mr. Stokoe is to preserve the integrity of all his rights as an



English citizen and officer. He demands to receive from the Admiralty the same pay as his predecessor, and not to be assimilated in any thing to the French prisoners. The whole of the above to be done with the permission of his chief, Rear Admiral Plampin\*.

Longwood, 17th of January, 1819.

He accepted the conditions, *provided the admiral gave his consent*, and was introduced to Napoleon, whom he found in the state described in the following Report No. I, which he left at Longwood, and a copy of which he gave to the admiral.

#### REPORT NO. I.

Longwood, 17th of January, 1819.

On my visit to Longwood this morning, I found Napoleon in a very weak state, complaining of considerable pain in the right side, in the region of the liver, with shooting pains in the shoulder. About midnight he had been suddenly seized with violent pains in the head, succeeded by vertigo and syncope, which continued nearly a quarter of an hour; soon after his recovery from this state, he had recourse to the warm bath, which produced violent perspiration, and relieved him considerably.

From the evident tendency of a determination of blood to the head, it will be highly necessary

\* The original will be found in the Appendix, No. XIII.

that a medical man should be near his person, in order that immediate assistance may be afforded in case of a recurrence of the above *alarming* symptoms, as well as for the daily treatment of *chronic hepatitis*, which the above symptoms indicate.

(Signed) JOHN STOKOE,  
Surgeon, H. M. S. Conqueror.

*To Count Bertrand.*

He was not permitted to remain at Longwood with his patient, but obliged to return to town, where he was interrogated minutely upon every thing which he had seen, said, or heard at Longwood. The next day he was sent for again by Count Bertrand, and after some difficulty obtained a pass from Admiral Plampin, by whom (as he had the day before declined reporting the conversations he had with his patient, unless they had some relation to the political situation of the prisoner), *he was prohibited from holding any communication or intercourse, except medical, with either Napoleon himself or any of his suite!*

On his arrival at Longwood he found that Napoleon had passed the night without any alarming symptoms, but that he appeared to be more debilitated. He gave his opinion of the nature of his complaint as follows.

“ It appears from the symptoms of chronic hepatitis, the first appearance of which he experienced about sixteen months ago, that this is the principal cause of the present derange-



ment in his health; and although they are described as having increased considerably of late, yet, judging from present appearances, I do not apprehend any immediate imminent danger; although it must be presumed, that in a climate, where the above disease is so prevalent, it will eventually shorten his life.

The most alarming symptoms are those which were experienced last night, a recurrence of which may soon prove fatal, particularly if *medical assistance* is not at hand.

(Signed) JOHN STOKOE,  
Surgeon, H. M. S. Conqueror.

Longwood, 18th of January, 1819."

At three in the morning of the 19th he was called in again to see Napoleon, whom he found very ill, and in a state of high fever, as will be seen by a perusal of his Report No. III, a copy of which was given to Admiral Plampin.

### REPORT No. III.

Soon after my arrival at Longwood yesterday I was desired to attend Napoleon Bonaparte. Count Bertrand impatiently demanded the cause of my long absence. I replied, that the Admiral had not received the official communication from Longwood (on which alone he could grant me a passport) until late in the afternoon. I found him in a state of fever, with considerable heat of skin, and an increasing pain in the head. He had had no

motion for twenty-four hours, and fearing a return of the attack of Saturday night I advised his losing some blood, and taking an active purgative immediately; to both of which he appeared to have very great repugnance, and said he would first try the effect of a lavement.

About three this morning I was called upon by Count Bertrand, who desired me to accompany him to Napoleon. I found none of the symptoms abated, and the head ache increased. I strongly urged the necessity of bleeding, which he submitted to, and which was attended with almost immediate relief; he took also a large dose of Cheltenham salts.

On this occasion I took an opportunity of examining more particularly the region of the liver, and *am now fully persuaded of the diseased state of that viscus.* I have in consequence recommended a course of mercury, with other medicines, in the form which may be best suited to the constitution of the Patient.

(Signed) JOHN STOKOE.

Longwood, January 20, 1819.

On the other side of the Report was written the form of the remedies prescribed, with directions of the manner in which they should be taken.

The reader will perceive, that the correctness of the opinion I had formed of Napoleon's malady is



completely confirmed by the evidence of a surgeon of great experience, known respectability, and one who was in the daily habit of treating numbers afflicted with the same disease.

In the mean time, Admiral Plampin had a long interview with Sir Hudson Lowe. The treatment which Mr. Stokoe received from the latter officer, after this interview, it appears, was of such a nature as to oblige him candidly to state, in the following manner, that his visits there would be no longer permitted.

#### REPORT No. IV.

St. Helena, January 21, 1819.

SIR ;

From the occurrences of to-day, I have strong reason to suspect that my visits to Longwood will be suspended, either by an order from my superiors to that effect, or that the duty will be rendered so unpleasant to me, as to compel me to decline it: in either case, I may not have an opportunity of communicating with you on a subject in which I now feel myself deeply interested.

I therefore request you will use your utmost endeavours to induce the Patient to adopt a course of medicine, which will afford a hope of avoiding the danger he is now threatened with.

Hepatitis in any shape is a disease not to be

trifled with in the climate of St. Helena; and although the symptoms he has experienced for a long time indicate the chronic stage, there is no knowing how soon it may change its type, and become fatal. The torpid state of the liver, with the frequent constipated state of the bowels and derangement of the digestive organs, may tend also to increase the natural determination of blood to the head, which showed itself in those alarming symptoms of Saturday night.

I therefore intreat you (if I am not allowed the honour of prescribing for him myself) to use every means in your power to obtain his consent for Dr. Verling to do so.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

JOHN STOKOE.

*To Lieutenant General Count Bertrand,*

*&c. &c. &c. Longwood.*

Mr. Stokoe then urged the necessity of a course of medicine, stating, that he had already prepared some and would send more from James' Town, with instructions; to which Napoleon replied, "that he would take no medicine, except from the hands of his own surgeon."

Two or three days subsequent to this Mr. Stokoe was informed, by order of Admiral Plampin, that he must either quit St. Helena *forthwith*, or be



tried by a court martial, for having given *written documents* to the French, which, according to him, was a disobedience of orders. These written documents consisted of the reports of the state of Napoleon's health, and directions to which he was advised to conform, *copies of which were given by Mr. Stokoe to Admiral Plampin*. It is necessary to state, that Mr. Stokoe was refused permission to remain at Longwood with his patient, as will appear on a perusal of the following letter.

St. Helena, Jan. 18, 1819.

SIR;

In reference to the verbal communication which Count Bertrand made to you yesterday, I am directed, by the Governor, to acquaint you, that having conferred with Rear Admiral Plampin, in respect to the continuance of Mr. Stokoe's medical attendance at Longwood, the Admiral has acquainted him, that he *cannot dispense with Mr. Stokoe's service in the squadron, so far as to admit of his being entirely excused from it*; nor could he release Mr. Stokoe from the obedience due to him, as Naval Commander in Chief, without the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

The Governor himself will have no objection to Mr. Stokoe affording his medical assistance to Napoleon Bonaparte, whenever so required; but he is desirous, in such cases, that *Mr. Stokoe's professional*

*visits should be made in conjunction with the physician, who is at present in attendance at Longwood, following, as near as possible, the instructions on this head.*

The unsigned paper you sent to me is returned herewith, to be delivered back to Count Bertrand, as well on account of the imperial title being used in the heading of it, and its having no signature, as also because the first part of this letter renders any deliberation on the proposals it contains unnecessary.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) G. GORREQUER, Major,  
Acting Military Secretary.

*To Captain Nicholls,  
Orderly Officer, Longwood.*

*A True Copy.*

(Signed) J. NICHOLLS,  
Capt. 66th Regt.

It is very natural to suppose, that the great responsibility felt in attending such a patient as Napoleon, would point out to any medical man the imperious necessity of giving written directions, in order to prevent the possibility of any mistake being made in the administration of the remedies; and to show hereafter, in case of a fatal event, that the mode of practice, which had been adopted, was correct; and also that no mystery had been



made use of with the French, in the treatment of their fallen master.

There is but little necessity for any comment upon such conduct. The imputations which are likely to be cast upon the nation by Sir Hudson Lowe's having removed, in succession, the only medical men in whom Napoleon had confidence, at the moment when he was labouring under a formidable disease, in a climate where it was weekly sending numbers to the grave; and moreover, *directly after Napoleon had experienced an attack of apoplexy*, a repetition of which, if *immediate medical assistance* was not at hand, would most probably prove fatal, are too obvious to escape the observation of the public, which will not fail to form its judgment, in spite of all that either anonymous compilers, or the more accredited agents of misrepresentation and calumny can advance.

From the persevering efforts and undeviating malignity with which the author of the "FACTS" had hitherto laboured to distort truth, and bestow undeserved praises on some, while others, no matter what their age, sex, or condition might be, were mercilessly vilified and traduced, it is not by any means surprising, that the last pages of his pamphlet, including the addenda, called forth by the recent very interesting publication of Count de Las Cases, should be made up of precisely the same materials as those already offered to public notice. In these we are again presented with cavilling, vi-

tuperation, and falsehood, not to be exceeded in any other part of this writer's unprincipled farrago; and if I had not dwelt at such length on the preceding statements of his book, there is an ample field for additional comment on several passages contained between page 120, where he takes leave of the public, and 140, in which his labours close. Some few remarks seem, however, requisite; and in making them I shall be as brief as possible, feeling, that I have probably not only devoted infinitely too much space to the contradiction of such palpable absurdities, but greatly trespassed on the patience of my reader.

Not content with the abuse so profusely lavished on the prisoners at St. Helena, the author has omitted no opportunity of attempting to depreciate the merits of those exalted characters in England, who, jealous for the honour of their country, and the rights of humanity, have endeavoured to prevent both from being violated with impunity, in our treatment of Napoleon. Faithful to his system of malevolent detraction, an allusion, no less marked by audacity than time-serving impertinence, is hazarded in page 128; wherein, as might be naturally expected from such a writer, two distinguished characters, foremost in all that is calculated to promote the best interests of the nation, are reflected on in a manner that evidently betrays the envy of a party, whose lost popularity, aided by characteristic littleness of soul, renders the well



earned fame of others a source of perpetual suffering to themselves.

*Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimus!*

As the tenor of their public conduct and pre-eminent services in the cause of all that can be dear to Englishmen, is a sufficient reply to this jaundiced calumniator's insinuations, it is unnecessary for me to say any thing more on the subject, or dwell minutely upon the insinuations made by the author of the "FACTS," against some other highly esteemed characters. Had not the general nature of his publication, added to the observation on the ladies of Longwood, together with the conduct actually adopted towards them at St. Helena, prepared the reader for still greater outrages upon female delicacy, I should have probably been led to enter into an examination of some of his calumnies. It is equally unnecessary to dilate on the manifest injustice and extreme impolicy of a writer, who professes to defend the measures of administration, endeavouring by insinuations, the meaning of which cannot be mistaken, to wound the feelings, not only of irreproachable and truly meritorious officers, but of their consorts.

Had the author really felt, as he jesuitically professes, "that there is a sacredness about the very name of an English woman, which makes it a kind of sacrilege to hold her up to public notice,

*even to meet with public approbation !*” is it likely he would have thus shamefully violated the doctrine laid down by himself, and for no earthly cause than a line of conduct on the part of those who gave rise to his brutal censures, which every feeling heart in the empire will not fail to honour with applause?

The author’s giving the above *fine sentiment*, as a reason for withholding many traits of female excellence, is well worthy of the logic displayed in the other parts of his rhodomontade production !

Fully approving of the sentiments to which he has paid so little attention, I shall most assuredly not follow his example, even to relate some instances of females indulging feelings of that humanity, to which the author of the “FACTS” is unquestionably a total stranger.

In the note above alluded to, the author of the “FACTS” proceeds to relate some marks of attention, stated by him as having been made to the wishes of Madame Bertrand, with a view of proving that “no improper animosity was kindled, either in his (Sir Hudson Lowe’s) breast, or that of any of his family.” I am fully aware that farces of this description have been frequently *got up* at Plantation House, which, if the author was ever inclined to turn his *cacoethes scribendi* in that profitable direction, might furnish him with some very useful hints. The writer forgot to inform his readers,



that these *dramatic* scenes were also exhibited at the very time Sir Hudson Lowe's restrictions had reduced the Countess Bertrand and her family to a state of the greatest distress; when they had deprived her of society; prohibited the shopkeepers from giving her credit for a gown; and that her wearing apparel was subjected to inspection. At such a time, advantage was often taken of a favourable moment, when passengers of rank, on their way to England, happened to be at Plantation House: on these occasions some of the individuals most interested in preventing the TWELVE THOUSAND PER ANNUM from passing into other hands, had recourse to a favourite maxim with hypocrites of every description, of expressing the utmost sympathy and commiseration for the inmates at Longwood. Now, as I really feel both respect and admiration for the lovely sex to which Lady Lowe belongs, I freely exonerate her ladyship from participating in the deception, or favouring the unworthy subterfuges of those around her; if, therefore, she was ever heard to say, on such occasions as those I have mentioned, "My dear, I hope you sent to inquire how Madame Bertrand was this morning! Can we do any thing for her? Poor woman! how much she is to be pitied!" it must have been the pure emanation of a truly Christian spirit; not a premeditated effort to deceive, for the purpose of aiding the tortuous designs of others.

In his notice of Count de Las Cases's last work,

the author recurs to the affair of Count Bertrand and Lieutenant Colonel Lyster. This subject has, I trust, been satisfactorily elucidated in the preceding part of my Remarks; and, with due submission to the author, it is one of those unhappy topics, which every additional mooting can only tend to render less honourable to the party, whose cause he so vainly endeavours to defend.

The Count's observation relative to Sir Hudson Lowe's being "a man, who never thinks beyond the letter of his instructions," is made the ground of acquittal, in favour of the Lieutenant General; whereas every one, who has considered, or taken any pains to ascertain the nature of his measures, well knows, that this expression of Count de Las Cases applied to a particular case, in which the Governor had an ample plea for swerving from his instructions; and that, whenever any measures of coercion required a departure from them, they were unhesitatingly abandoned; as a proof of which, I need only refer the reader to the Count's statements, so clearly explained in his letters, not to mention the various other facts that have transpired relative to the transactions in St. Helena. Does this writer want to be informed, that a man, who adheres to the letter of his instructions in all that implies harshness and severity, while he was never known to exceed them, except for the purpose of increasing that harshness, cannot claim the merit attributed to him on this occasion? On the con-



trary, such a mode of proceeding will, doubtless, be construed into a want of humanity on the one hand, and a lamentable absence of talent on the other.

It was to be expected, that in his anxiety to serve a tottering and iniquitous cause, the author's concluding remarks would be framed so as to steel the hearts and blunt the sensibility of the nation with regard to the fallen Emperor, whose perpetual detention is recommended, with all the obdurate inflexibility of a being, who not only exults in the perpetration of crimes himself, but like the arch fiend, whose prototype he may be justly called, delights in the guilt of others. But, however much gratified the author of the "FACTS" may have been at this opportunity of shedding the venom of his little mind and pitiless heart, the nation which he addresses are not so devoid of humanity, or insensible to the heavy responsibility arising from a perseverance in a course of injustice, as to be guided in its judgment by all that the hirelings of party can suggest. And in contradistinction to this writer's closing invocation, would it not be as just to say, **COUNTRYMEN, WHOEVER YE TRUST, BELIEVE NO MAN WHO WOULD SULLY YOUR RENOWN, AND BLAST YOUR NAME, BY THE EXERCISE OF CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE: ON THE CONTRARY, LET THE CURSES OF AN OUTRAGED WORLD, "NOT LOUD, BUT DEEP," BE ON THE HEAD OF HIM, WHO COULD THUS WANTONLY TRIFLE WITH YOUR FEELINGS, AND DESTROY YOUR REPUTATION!**

The universal burst of public opinion, which has led to Ministers sending Mr. Stokoe back to St. Helena, amply proves, that those principles of justice, to which Napoleon Bonaparte continues to appeal, are not extinct in the British nation, however they may have been deviated from by a few isolated individuals.

Whatever arguments the author may have thought proper to introduce, in support of his efforts to prevent any amelioration in the treatment or condition of Napoleon, it is evident, that the sentiments of the nation have undergone a considerable change on this highly important subject. If there still exists a difference of opinion as to the policy of thus depriving a former sovereign, so nearly allied to many reigning crowned heads, of his liberty; while others regard the precedent as fraught with perils to legitimacy\*; there can be but one feeling as to the mode in which he has been treated since his imprisonment, or the corroding nature of the climate selected for the scene of his detention. When this general opinion is coupled with the various other considerations, which so irre-

\* I have, since my return from St. Helena, heard a very enlightened Frenchman observe, amongst other remarks on the politics of the day, with which no man is better acquainted, "*Les Rois d'Europe se tuent à Sainte Helene!*" The importance of this singular observation is not lessened by the fact of the person, who made it, having been a political opponent of Napoleon's, during a great part of his reign.



sistibly force themselves on the minds of those who examine the question with any degree of candour, no wonder if the great and generous sentiments, which have always characterized the majority of the British nation, should be so clearly manifested on the present occasion. This will account for the very eloquent and spirited manner, in which some of the most distinguished political writers of the day have treated the subject within the last six months, and more particularly since the recent publication of Count de las Cases appeared.

Without venturing to anticipate what course the wisdom of Parliament may suggest, on a question in which our national character is so deeply involved, I am convinced, in reply to the dogmatical author of the "FACTS," that the fallen Emperor has no wish beyond the desire attributed to him by the Count. If, as this libeller insinuates, a spirit of revenge formed the ruling principle in Napoleon's character, he had ample opportunities of displaying it to the world, during his unprecedented successes over the continental sovereigns. But the fact is, the state of Europe no less than a total deterioration in his physical powers, not to mention the time of life at which he has now arrived, renders future tranquillity an object of exclusive solicitude to the fallen Ruler. Such at least is the conviction produced on my mind, by the various conversations that took place on the subject of his present reflections and future views, during my residence

at Longwood ; and although I am not so weak as to imagine it will have any weight with the author's *friends*, I should not have been justified in omitting this opportunity of adverting to the circumstance, for the information of other, and less prejudiced reasoners.

Having, in all I have felt myself bound to say, offered nothing but facts, by far the greatest part of which may be proved by credible witnesses, let those, who deny my assertions, have recourse to the legal mode of disproving them ; no verbal criticism or written statements will satisfy the country, after the foregoing invitation. The public have heard quite enough from the parties more immediately interested ; they now look for inquiry.

It will doubtless create some surprise on the part of some readers, that I should have attached so much importance to the assertions of an anonymous writer. If they consider the peculiar difficulty of my situation, the pains that have been taken to lower and even criminate me in public opinion, together with the importance of the subject, upon which this pamphlet has been written, as far at least as it regards our national character, I trust a considerable portion of that surprise will cease.

As it is evident, that the greater part of this pamphlet must have been dictated by the Governor of St. Helena, and that the work itself has received the support of the ministerial press, of



what consequence is it, who the compiler and editor in this country may be? Whether a greedy expectant, working his way into place, or some ruined profligate, who, after having betrayed his trust, endeavours to evade the offended majesty of the laws, by an attempt to bolster up the views of imbecility and oppression, is alike indifferent to the public: the important fact of his book being ushered into notice by the sanction of ministers, identifies him with them; constituting him, if not the organ, at least an agent of administration.

With respect to the two persons, upon whose assertions and conduct I have been principally called upon to animadvert and contradict in the foregoing pages, they have no cause, or indeed any right whatever to be surprised at the steps I have taken to bring them thus before the bar of their country. From one, I have experienced insults, oppression, and indignity; from the other, abuse, slander, and calumny. It is said, that a worm will turn if trod upon; but what accumulated injuries have I not sustained! Represented in the foulest light to his Majesty's Government, and deprived of my hard earned bread, without the shadow of a trial; not allowed to explain the motives of my conduct, or expose that of others, it was doubtless anticipated, by those who had meditated my ruin, that I should also tamely submit to be branded as a traitor!

They are now undeceived on this point: insensible to shame, as they have been callous to the voice of humanity, I leave them for the present to those reflections, which their own conduct has generated; and console myself by repeating a memorable saying of Napoleon, when dwelling on the character of the one, which is equally applicable to them both: “ S’IL ECHAPPE `A LA JUSTICE DE LA LOI, QU’IL VIOLE, IL N’ECHAPPERA PAS `A LA JUSTICE DE L’OPINION DE TOUS LES HOMMES ECLAIRÉS ET SENSIBLES !”





A P P E N D I X ;

CONTAINING

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS,

REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING REMARKS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS AT ST. HELENA,

SUBSEQUENT TO

THE APPOINTMENT OF SIR HUDSON LOWE

TO BE

GOVERNOR OF THAT ISLAND.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

PHILOSOPHY 101

LECTURE NOTES

BY [Name]

# A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

*Lettre du Comte Bertrand au Docteur O'Meara.*

Longwood, 9 Mai, 1818.

MONSIEUR ;

Depuis le mois d'Octobre vous avez cessé de faire des bulletins, ce qui a donné lieu d'en faire de faux. L'Empereur désire que vous ne rendiez compte à qui que ce soit de l'état de sa santé, si ce n'est au Gouverneur s'il le requiert ; surtout que vous n'en parliez à aucun Médecin ; et pour couper court à tout ce tripotage, que vous redigiez toutes les semaines ou plus souvent si cela est nécessaire, un bulletin de sa santé, dont vous me remettrez l'original et dont vous pouvez envoyer la copie au Gouverneur s'il la désire.

Aussitôt que vous m'aurez repondu sur cet article, vous pouvez reprendre vos fonctions de Médecin de Napoleon, qui en a besoin, puisque la restriction du 10 Avril est levée, et que vous agissez volontairement et sans y être contraint.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c. &c.

(Signé) LE COMTE BERTRAND.

TRANSLATION.

*Letter from Count Bertrand to Doctor O'Meara.*

Longwood, May 9, 1818.

SIR ;

Since the month of October you have discontinued issuing bulletins ; hence an opportunity has been afforded for



false ones to be made. The Emperor desires you will give no account of his health to any person whatever, excepting to the Governor, if he demands it; and particularly, that you do not speak to any other doctor upon the subject. To put an end to all this manœuvring, he also desires you will draw up every week, or oftener if necessary, a bulletin of his health, the original of which you are to hand to me, and you may send a copy to the Governor, if he desires it.

As soon as you send me your answer upon this point, you may resume your functions of physician to Napoleon, who requires your assistance; since the restriction of the 10th of April is at length removed, by which you can act voluntarily and without constraint.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.



No. II.

*Letter from Mr. O'Meara to Count Bertrand, in reply to the preceding.*

Longwood, May 10, 1818.

SIR;

In answer to your letter, bearing date the 9th of May, 1818, which I did not receive until this day; I have the honour to inform you, that I cannot refuse a compliance with the two propositions contained in it, which, with a copy of this answer, I will immediately forward to his Excellency the Governor.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

*To Licut. General Count Bertrand,*  
&c. &c. &c.

## No. III.

*Letter from Mr. O'Meara to Major Gorrequer, Sir  
Hudson Lowe's Military Secretary.*

Longwood, May 10, 1818.

4 o'clock P.M.

SIR;

I have the honour to inclose you a letter, which I have this moment received from Count Bertrand, with the answer; which I beg you will lay before his Excellency the Governor.

I remain, Sir, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

*To Major Gorrequer, Act. Mil. Sec.*

*&c. &c. &c.*

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## No. IV.

*Letter and Report from Mr. O'Meara to Sir Hudson  
Lowe.*

Longwood, May 10, 1818.

6 o'clock P.M.

SIR;

I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that at half past five o'clock Napoleon Bonaparte sent for me, being the first time I have seen him since the 14th of last month. I found him in his room, in the state I have described, which I took down upon leaving it. As he wished me to send a statement of my opinion to General Bertrand, I have thought proper to send a copy of it for your Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

*To his Excellency Lieut. Gen. Sir Hudson*

*Lowe, K. C. B. &c. &c. &c. Governor.*



## REPORT.

Since the 10th of last month, the state of the Patient's health has become a little worse. The pain in the right hypochondriac region is more constant, and a little more severe, accompanied with frequent pain above the acromion. The disease is evidently hepatitis, in an insidious form. His rest at night is extremely bad; appetite deficient; his bowels are very costive, and he has experienced frequent griping. The pain, however, was neither constant nor severe. His legs are nearly the natural size: his gums are better and more florid. The salt water baths have afforded relief. He stands in need first of frequent and active purgatives, exercise on horseback, and subsequently of some preparation of mercury.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

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 No. V.

*Extract of a Letter from Major Gorrequer to Mr. O'Meara.*

Plantation House, May 10, 1818.

SIR;

Having informed the Governor you had inclosed to me some correspondence between yourself and Count Bertrand, he has directed me to return the same forthwith; to say *all such correspondence is illegal*, and that it is besides a direct disobedience of the annexed order, conveyed to you in Sir Thomas Reade's letter of the 19th January, to which order, and to Sir Thomas Reade's letter of the 7th instant, he refers you for your future guidance.

After acquainting the Governor you had acceded to certain propositions made to you in Count Bertrand's letter, he said

it must have been, in such case, directly counter to the orders, &c.

(Signed) G. GORREQUER,  
Major.

*Extract from Sir Thomas Reade's Letter, dated  
January 19, 1818.*

When the Governor requires written reports from you, he will acquaint you of the form in which he wishes to receive them; and he desires you will not again *presume to address to him, in an official manner*, any observations made to you by Count Bertrand, or even by Napoleon Bonaparte himself; unless, after their having been verbally communicated, he should require you so to do.

(Signed) T. READE,  
D. Adj. General.

P. S. Just as I was sending off this letter, the Governor was extremely surprised at receiving from you the copy of some report you had addressed to Count Bertrand; it is returned herewith.

*Extract of a Letter from Sir Thomas Reade, dated  
St. Helena, May 15, 1818.*

I am directed by the Governor to acquaint you, &c.

You will *report to the Governor in person*, except in case of such very serious illness as may prevent your quitting Napoleon Bonaparte, when you will acquaint the orderly officer, &c.

(Signed) T. READE,  
D. Adj. General.



## No. VI.

*Bulletin relative to the State of Napoleon  
Bonaparte's Health.*

Longwood, June 7, 1818.

The Patient's complaint has been worse during the last week. The pain on the right side has been constant, and more soreness has been felt on pressure being made upon the right hypochondrium. I am of opinion, that the administration of mercurial preparations is indispensable; and that any farther delay in their exhibition will be attended with dangerous consequences, and for which I do not consider myself in any manner responsible.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

## No. VII.

*Bulletin on the same.*

Longwood, June 14, 1818.

During this week the pain in the right side has been more severe than before, and the Patient has passed the greatest part of his time in bed; which is partly to be attributed to the delicacy of the nervous system, in consequence of want of exercise, and especially from having shut himself up in a small apartment for near six weeks. The nervous system has been also more than commonly agitated by the mercurial preparations, which it has been indispensable administer on the 11th.

Whatever objections the Patient may have to going out, it is absolutely necessary for him to give them up, and to take

two or three hours' exercise on horseback daily, or at least to go out of his room and walk in the open air, even for half an hour; as it is probable, by neglecting this advice, his system may become so delicate as not to be able to resist external impressions.

The actual state of circumstances renders it extremely desirable to have the opinion of another medical man; and I therefore renew the request I have so often made verbally of calling in one. If the Patient perseveres in his unwillingness to call in Mr. Baxter, there are four or five other skilful medical officers belonging to the army and navy, amongst whom a choice might be made. So many causes tend to complicate the disease, that I think it most imperatively necessary to obtain the opinion of another professional man\*.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

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No. VIII.

*Letter from Mr. O'Meara to Major Gorrequer.*

Longwood, June 29, 1818.

SIR;

Being unwell, and having taken medicine, I am not in a state fit to mount on horseback to day. As I suppose that his Excellency the Governor has sent for me in order to inquire into the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, I have to state, that the progress of the complaint still continues;

\* Several other Bulletins of a similar description to the above were written by me, some of which I have not been able to find since the rummaging of my papers at Hut's Gate, as described in the Remarks, p. 163.

B. E. O'M.



and I beg of you to lay before him the statement on the other side of this letter; and to submit for his Excellency's consideration, that I feel that *verbal reports* are not sufficient for my responsibility; and to beg of him to annul his *prohibition* against my furnishing him with *written reports* of the state of the disease. I presume, that, in justice, his Excellency may allow me to give him written ones, which I can have the honour either to deliver personally, or to send to him when called for.

I remain, Sir, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

To Major Gorrequer, Act. Mil. Sec.

&c. &c. &c.

*Statement referred to.*

The progress of hepatitis in Napoleon Bonaparte has increased since the time I had the honour of verbally reporting to his Excellency, that he had consented to commence mercurial preparations, which as yet have not produced any beneficial effects, and which I have been obliged to discontinue from the 27th, in consequence of a severe catarrhal affection, caused by the *extreme humidity of his rooms*. There is more debility present, and he has been confined to bed for the greatest part of his time daily.

(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon.

Longwood, June 29, 1818.

## No. IX.

*Proclamation referred to, page 150 of the REMARKS, in which the authority of Parliament is assumed by the Governor of St. Helena.*

PROCLAMATION by Lieutenant General Sir Hudson Lowe, K. C. B. Governor and Commander in Chief, for the Honourable East India Company, of the Island of St. Helena, and commanding His Majesty's Forces on the said Island.

By virtue of the powers and authority vested in me by a Warrant in the King's Majesty's name, bearing date the 12th day of April in the present year, and in the fifty-sixth year of his Majesty's reign, authorizing and commanding me to detain in custody Napoleon Bonaparte, and him to deal with and treat as a Prisoner of War, under such restrictions, and in such manner as shall have been, or shall be from time to time signified to me under the hand of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and to prevent the rescue or escape of the said Napoleon Bonaparte; in the due execution whereof, all his Majesty's officers, civil, naval, and military, and all his loving subjects, whom it may concern, are required to be aiding and assisting as occasion there may be; public notice is hereby given, that two Acts have been passed in the present session of the British Parliament, the one for detaining in custody the said Napoleon Bonaparte, and adjudging capital punishment on those who may be assisting in his escape; and the other for regulating the intercourse of shipping with the Island of St. Helena during the time Napoleon Bonaparte shall be detained in custody.

Copies of these two Acts are hereunto annexed.

In furtherance of the objects for which these Acts have been passed, it is hereby publicly made known, that the



various regulations hitherto issued on this island, in regard to the safe custody of the said Napoleon Bonaparte, and of the prevention of any undue correspondence or communication with him, his followers, and attendants, are to remain in full force.

It is farther made known, that if, after this notice, any person or persons whatever shall infringe the regulations established for his custody, or *shall hold correspondence or communication with him, his followers, or attendants*, who are by their own acquiescence placed under the same restrictions as himself, or shall receive from or deliver any letters or communication to him or them, *without the express authorization of the Governor, or the officer commanding on the Island for the time being, signified to them in writing under his hand*; such person or persons will be considered as having acted against the provisions and express objects of the said Acts of Parliament, and be proceeded against accordingly. *And should, from any infraction of the rules established for his custody, or from any correspondence or communication with either him, his followers, or attendants, the escape or rescue of the said Napoleon Bonaparte be effected, such person or persons will, after this notice, be considered as having been knowingly instrumental to, and assisting in the same, and be prosecuted with all the rigour which the law enacts.*

It is farther declared, that if any person or persons shall have any information of any attempted rescue or means of escape, and shall not make an immediate communication of the same to the Governor, or officer commanding for the time being, or shall not do his or their utmost to prevent the same taking effect, they will be regarded as having connived at and assisted in the said rescue or escape, and his or their offence be judged by the laws.

Any person or persons who may receive letters or *communications for the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers,*

*or attendants, and shall not immediately deliver or make known the same to the Governor, or officer commanding for the time being; or who shall furnish the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants, with money, or any other means whatever, whereby his escape might be furthered, will be considered in like manner to have been assisting in the same, and will be proceeded against accordingly.*

All letters or communications for or from the said Napoleon, any of his followers or attendants, whether sealed or open, are to be forwarded to the Governor without loss of time, in the same state in which they may have been received.

And whereas it is not the object of the regulation hereby promulgated, to induce any unusual or unnecessary rigour, but to enforce the due execution of the rules heretofore established, and to prevent the ill effects which might result from ignorance and inconsiderateness, as well as design; it is in consequence made known to all those persons, whose duty calls upon them to attend near the place where the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants, reside, or who have business which has any relation to them, that they will be furnished, upon due application, with regular licences and authorities from the Governor of the island, signed with his hand. And nothing is to be construed from the Acts of Parliament, or these regulations, as warranting any violent or improper demeanor against him or them, so long as he or they observe the restrictions under which the laws and the instructions of his Majesty's Government *has* placed them.

Given under my hand in James' Town, in the Island of St. Helena, the 28th day of June, 1816.

(Signed) HUDSON LOWE,

Governor and Commander in Chief.

By command of the Governor,

(Signed) G. GORREQUER,

Acting Military Secretary.



No. X.

(COPY.)

*To Mr. Charles Weston, Marshall\*.*

SIR;

It is the Governor's command, that you wait immediately on Mr. O'Meara, late surgeon in attendance on General Bonaparte, and inform him, that he is *forthwith* to quit this island; the necessary time will be granted to him for packing up his baggage, and you will see *this order executed within an hour* after you have received it.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

THOS. H. BROOKE,

Secretary to Government.

St. Helena, 26 July, 1818.

A true Copy, C. WESTON, Marshall.



No. XI.

(COPY.)

James' Valley, July 26, 1818,

5 o'clock P. M.

SIR;

I have just received an intimation from Mr. Weston, that it is the Governor's direction for him to see me off within the course of an hour. This step, prior to allowing my baggage, bedding, or the money which I delivered to Captain Blakeney, to reach me, is of a piece with the rest of the proceedings adopted towards me.

I must observe, that I hold the giver of this order respon-

\* Mr. Weston is also *gaoler* of the *common prison*.

sible to the tradesmen, whom he thus prevents from receiving the money due to them by me; and that I will take such steps as the law enacts against any person seizing upon, appropriating to any purpose, or disposing of my property; and for all and every loss I may sustain by the illegal and arbitrary proceedings which have been put in execution against me.

I have the honour, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA,  
Surgeon R. N.

*To T. H. Brooke, Esquire,  
Secretary to Government.*

---

No. XII.

*Deposition of John Wyatt, Servant to Mr. O'Meara.*

London, to wit.

John Wyatt, late of St. Helena, but now of Arundel Street in the Strand, servant to Dr. O'Meara of said place, maketh oath and saith; That on Saturday, the twenty-fifth day of July, in the present year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, he being then at Longwood in the said island of St. Helena, in the apartments of his said master, he was ordered, at about half past four or five of the clock in the afternoon of that day, by Colonel Wynyard, to immediately pack up the baggage and effects belonging to his master, the said Doctor O'Meara, preparatory to his then intended departure from the said island of St. Helena. That he, this deponent, accordingly proceeded to pack up his said master's baggage and effects, in one packing case and three trunks, two of which last mentioned he was obliged to borrow for that purpose, not being allowed time to purchase proper articles to effect their removal in. That whilst so



employed in packing the said baggage and effects, the said Colonel Wynyard came several times into the room where this Deponent was engaged as aforesaid, to superintend him therein; and before he, this deponent, had completed the said packing, the said Colonel Wynyard directed this deponent to go all over the premises in search of the said Doctor O'Meara, he the said Colonel Wynyard having immediate occasion to see him. That he, this deponent, returned in about twenty minutes, not having been able to find his said master, and resumed the packing of the baggage. That at about half past six of the clock of the said afternoon, the said Doctor O'Meara came into the room, and having collected together his money, a gold watch chain, and seals, and several articles of jewellery, packed the money, consisting in dollars, in cloths, and delivered the same to Captain Blakeney of the 66th regiment; and put the said gold watch chain, seals, and articles of jewellery, into his, Doctor O'Meara's, writing desk. That he, this deponent, completed the packing of the said baggage and effects at half past seven o'clock, and lashed and secured the same with cords, in the best and safest way he possibly could; and in consequence of the request of the said Doctor O'Meara, that one of the servants might be allowed to sleep that night at Hut's Gate in the said island, where the said baggage was to be deposited, the said Colonel Wynyard promised that one of his, the said Doctor O'Meara's, servants should certainly remain in charge of the said baggage. That the said Doctor O'Meara having left this deponent in charge of the said baggage at Longwood, he, this deponent, was sent away therewith by the said Captain Blakeney, without being allowed time to collect his own baggage; and orders were at the same time given to the sentinels, not to allow him, this deponent, to enter the premises again. That having, in company with his fellow servant William Jones, arrived at Hut's Gate with the said baggage, consisting of one packing case,

three trunks, five bags of books, and the above mentioned writing desk, at half past eight o'clock, or thereabouts, he, this deponent, was ordered by the said Colonel Wynyard to deliver the same up to the storekeeper stationed there, of the name of White, and to resign the charge thereof to him, and then to proceed into James' Town; which he, this deponent, and the said William Jones accordingly did, and there slept, upon an assurance from the said Colonel Wynyard, that the baggage should be sent down to him at James' Town the next morning. And this deponent further maketh oath and saith, that the next day, Sunday the twenty-sixth day of the said month of July, so far from being put in possession of the said baggage again, as promised, he, this deponent, was confined as a prisoner to the town, and was not allowed to leave it to go and look after the said baggage; but that a pass was given to the said William Jones to go, attended by a guard, to Longwood, and fetch the remaining effects of the said Doctor O'Meara, and the baggage of himself and this deponent. That he, this deponent, has been informed, and in his conscience believes, that the said William Jones, on his arrival at Longwood, was refused admission into the premises there, and was closely confined in the guard room, from about eleven of the clock in the morning until about three of the clock in the afternoon; and was then sent back to James' Town, also under a guard, without having been permitted to see the said baggage left at Hut's Gate as aforesaid, or any of the domestics at Longwood. That when the said William Jones returned, this deponent and he were ordered to remain at the Town Major's office to sleep that night, without being supplied with either bed, bedding, or covering. And this deponent further maketh oath and saith, that at twelve of the clock on the following day, Monday the twenty seventh of the said month of July, the baggage of the said Doctor O'Meara was brought down by the Commissary General's mule carts, and delivered into the care of him, this deponent,



in the presence of Provost Corporal Regan, who ordered this deponent to unpack the same from the old trunks into new ones, which had been bought by the said Doctor O'Meara. That he, this deponent, accordingly proceeded to unpack the said baggage, as desired, and then found and observed, that one of the trunks, which contained papers, had been opened, and the papers disturbed after he, this deponent, had left them; and also that the cordage, with which he, this deponent, had fastened the writing desk, had been removed and taken away, since the said writing desk had been left by him, this deponent, at Hut's Gate aforesaid. And, finally, this deponent maketh oath and saith, that the said baggage remained during Monday night aforesaid at the Town Major's office, under lock and key; and at twelve o'clock on Tuesday, the twenty-eighth of the said month of July, in consequence of the orders of Lieutenant Reardon of his Majesty's 66th Regiment of Infantry, the said baggage was put, in presence of this deponent, and in charge of the said Provost Corporal Regan, into a boat to be conveyed to the said Doctor O'Meara on board his Majesty's gun brig or sloop Griffon, then laying off Ruperts' Valley: That he, the said Provost Corporal Regan, would not allow this deponent to accompany the same baggage, unless he engaged not to land again, which he, this deponent, could not consent to, as he was at that time without his own baggage; but that afterwards he obtained his baggage, and some articles of clothing. He this deponent, in the evening of the said last mentioned day, proceeded on board the said gun brig or sloop Griffon. And all this is true, saith the said deponent, So help him God.

(Signed) JOHN WYATT.

*Sworn at the Mansion House, London, this 23rd day of October, 1818, before me,*

(Signed) C. SMITH, Mayor.

## No. XI.

*Original of the Conditions printed in page 172 of the*  
REMARKS.

Articles pour remplacer Mr. O'Meara, et donner à Mr. Stokoe le caractère de Medecin de Napoleon.

1°. Le Docteur Stokoe est considéré comme le chirurgien de Napoleon, et lui tiendra lieu du chirurgien Français dont il est fait mention au decret du Gouvernement Britannique du 15 Aoust, 1815.

2°. Il ne pourra pas être oté sans le consentement de Napoleon, du moins par un simple ordre du Gouverneur, et surtout pendant le temps que durera la maladie.

3°. Il ne sera soumis pendant le temps qu'il remplira les fonctions de medecin de Napoleon a aucune discipline ou devoir militaire et sera considéré comme un employé civil Anglais.

4°. Il ne devra rendre compte a qui que ce soit de la santé de Napoleon. Il redigera tous le 8 jours et plus souvent si cela est necessaire un bulletin de la santé de Napoleon, dont il fera 2 exemplaires l'un pour être remis a un des officiers de Longwood, et l'autre au Gouverneur lorsqu'il le desirera.

5°. Qui que ce soit ne s'ingerera dans ses fonctions medicales; il ne lui sera imposé aucune restriction pour ses communications avec Napoleon et les Français, soit par escrit, soit verbalement, soit le jour soit la nuit.

6°. Il ne sera tenu de rendre compte de ce qu'il verra ou entendra à Longwood qu'autant qu'il jugera, que cela compromettrait son serment d'allegiance envers sa patrie ou son souverain.

7°. Le Docteur Stokoe prend l'engagement, de servir dans son office aupres Napoleon; independemment de toute prevention ou esprit de parti et comme s'il etoit son compatriote,



de ne faire aucun bulletin ni aucune relation de ses maladies sans lui en remettre l'original.

8°. Mr. Stokoe en acceptant ces conditions preserve l'integrite de tous ses droits de citoyen et d'officier Anglais, il demande a recevoir de l'amirauté le même traitement que son predecesseur et n'entend être assimilé en rien aux Prisonniers Français, le tout avec la permission de son chef le Rear Admiral Plampin.

Longwood, ce 17 Janvier, 1819.

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No. XII.

*Note adressé au Gouverneur Sir Hudson Lowe, par le Comte de Montholon, le 19 Janvier, 1819.*

Il faut que le Docteur Stokoe demeure a Longwood s'il doit suivre le traitement interrompu depuis le depart de Mr. O'Meara, c'est a dire depuis 6 mois ce quia fort accru l'hepatie dont les premiers symptomes se sont fait voir il y a 16 mois; tout le système de la vie est dérangé, il est nécessaire qu'il voye le malade plusieurs fois par jour.

Depuis 6 mois l'attaque d'aujourd'hui est la cinquieme, toutes ont eu lieu de nuit, le Comte Bertrand ou le Comte de Montholon s'y sont trouvé, auprès du malade sans aucun homme de l'art; mais elles n'ont jamais été si graves que celle de l'autre nuit où ils ont un moment désesperé de sa vie; le Comte Bertrand offrit alors de faire entrer le Docteur Verling; le malade s'y refusa; cette seule proposition altera sa phisionomie et accrut le mal dans le moment. C'est ce qui porta le Comte Bertrand a faire appeller à 2 h. du matin le Docteur Stokoe qui arriva quatre heures après; l'officier d'ordonnance n'est pas autorisé a écrire en ville; il a fallu qu'il demande la permission au Gouverneur ce qui a doublé le chemin; le docteur est arrivé trop tard. Mais heureuse-

ment la force du temperament du malade l'avoit emporté sur le crise; ainsi se trouve verifié ce qu'est dit dans la lettre de 26 Juillet, 1818, du Comte de Montholon au Gouverneur, lorsque le Docteur O'Meara a été arraché de Longwood mais étoit encore en ville. *“ Que même au râle de la mort il ne recevra des soins, ni prendra des remedes que des mains de son medecin propre, et si on l'en prive il ne recevra personne et se tiendra comme assassiné par vous.”*

Lorsque le Docteur Stokoe est arrivé il s'est rendu chez le Comte Bertrand; celui-ci lui proposa de remplacer Mr. O'Meara et le présenta les 7 articles qui ont été envoyés au Gouverneur; il accepta (avec la permission de son chef) il fut alors introduit chez le malade. Le Gouverneur, ne pouvait empecher directement ou indirectement cette transaction sans jeter entierement le masque.

Ainsi le traitement de la maladie qui est interrompu depuis 6 mois est encore ajourné jusqu'a l'arrivée du medecin Français. L'hepatie fera plus de ravages encore que pendant cette derniere periode; et si enfin elle devient incurable qui aura tué l'Empereur! Ce qui s'est passé depuis 6 mois, fait craindre qu'il n'ait une crise par mois et s'il fait appeller Mr. Stokoe, il arrivera trop tard! Si un jour il trouve le malade mort qui l'aura tué? LE MONDE ET L'HISTOIRE LE DIRONT A HAUTE VOIX!!!

Longwood, ce 19 Janvier, 1819.

T H E E N D .



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